



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

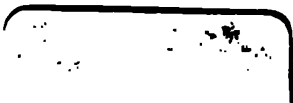
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







600054492U



51.

A N
AUTHENTICK and PARTICULAR
ACCOUNT
Of the TAKING of
CARTHAGENA
BY THE
FRENCH,
In the Year 1697.

Containing
An exact Relation of that Expedition, (in all
its Circumstances) from their first Setting out, to
their Return to *Brest*; wherein are describ'd their
several Engagements with the *English* Fleets, in
their Passage home.

By the *SIEUR POINTIS*,
Commander in Chief.

WITH A
PREFACE, giving an Account of the Original of *CAR-*
THAGENA in 1532, to the present Time; also an
Account of the Climate and Product of that Place, and
the Country adjacent.

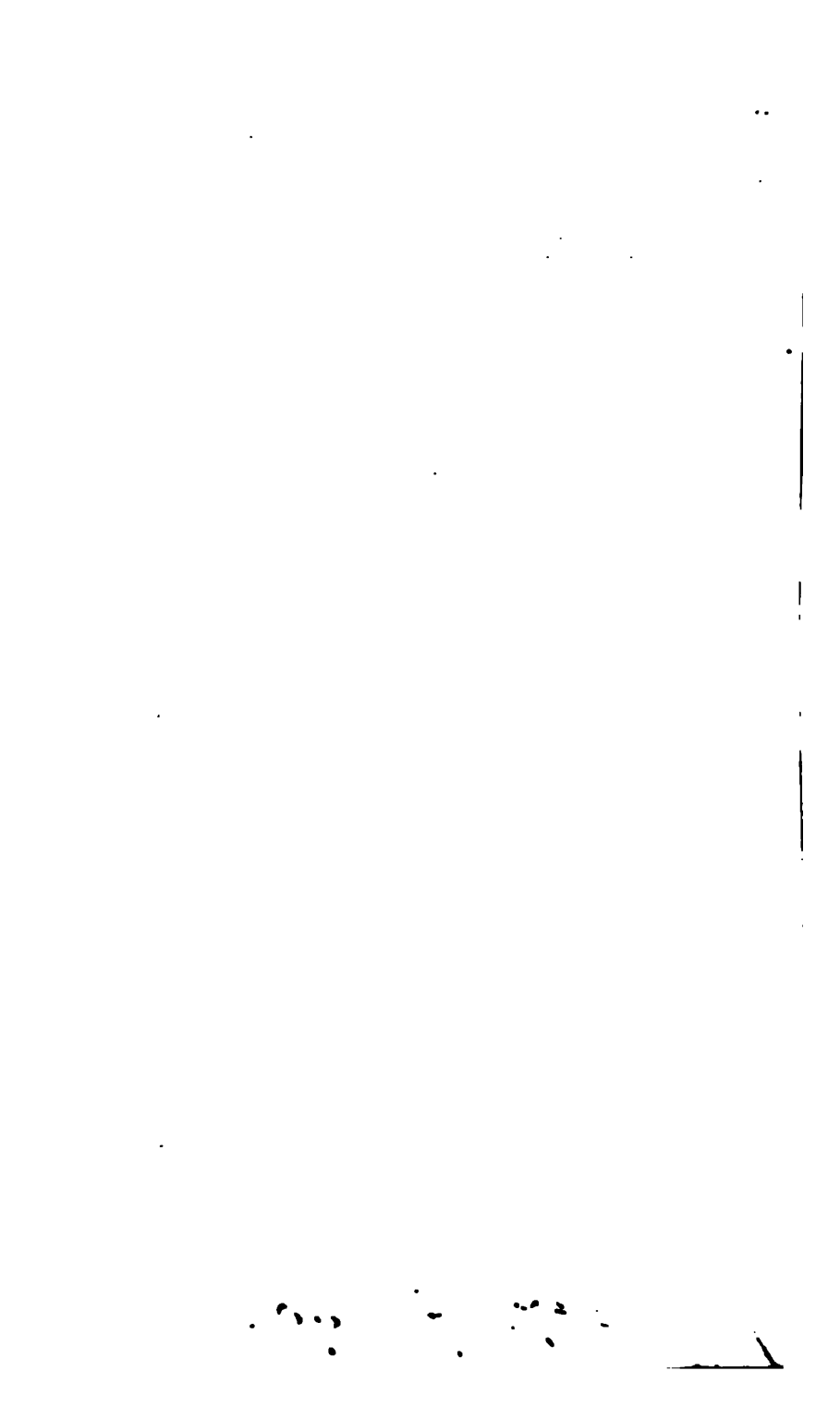


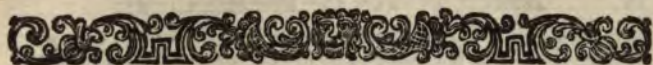
*" In 1585 it was sack'd by the Valour of a few English, under
" the Command of Sir Francis Drake (in a Reign when the
" Publick Good and Honour of England was the Chief Business
" at Court) and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud
" Enemies, who were bumbled by the Conduct of our Fleet abroad,
" and our Naval Applications at home."* See Pref. p. 2.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:
Printed for OLIVE PAYNE, at *Horace's-Head* in *Pope's-Head-*
Alley, opposite the *Royal-Exchange* in *Cornhill*. 1740.
[Price sew'd 1s. 6d. Bound 2s.]

237. f. 90.





T H E

P R E F A C E.

TH E City of *Carthagena*, in the *West-Indies* (which now gives Title to a considerable Government of the same Name, and is reckoned a Province of *New Granada* ; or, according to some Writers, of *New Andaluzia* ; but by others, is annex'd to the *Golden Castile*) was begun to be built in the Year 1532, by *Peter de Heredia*, and was finished by *Georgio Robledo*, about eight Years after the Foundation was laid.

The Situation of its Port was found so convenient for the *Spanish* Fleets, and such Quantities of rich Merchandize were brought down near to it, by the Confluence of the great Rivers of *Santa Martha* and the *Magdalena*, that the Town encreased in Wealth, Number of People, stately Edifices,

iv *The* P R E F A C E.

and in a Jurisdiction over five or six petty Cities, till in the Year 1585, it was sack'd by the Valour of a few *English*, under the Command of Sir *Francis Drake* (in a Reign, when the *Publick Good and Honour of England* was the chief *Business at Court*) and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud *Enemies*; who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleets abroad, and our Naval Applications at home.

But this City of *Carthagena* received a greater Blow (before it was perfectly repaired) from five Privateers, led on by a disgusted *Spaniard*, who burnt the Place to Ashes, after they had surprized the Governor asleep, and seized a mighty Treasure: Yet, for all this, it raised its Head again, numbered above twenty thousand Inhabitants (whereof four thousand were *Spaniards*, the rest *Mesticoes* and Slaves) and improved daily in Riches and Magnificence, till taken by the *French* from *Brest*, and the *Buccaniers* from
Petit

The P R E F A C E. v

Petit Guaves, who severally plunder'd it; as is particularly related by Monsieur *De Pointis*.

Into such a fatal Stupidity are a certain People (by Nature brave, formerly Conquerors and Heroes) of late degenerated, either from the ill Influences of their State, or Church, or both; that now they fall a Prey to every Invader, and even to Privateers and Vagabonds: The Causes whereof are too manifest, and own'd by a judicious and honest Writer of their own Country, whose Sense I shall here deliver.

‘ Unreasonable Taxes are multiplied
‘ and entailed upon the *Spaniards*,
‘ under Pretence of making good Deficiencies and Funds of Interests: The
‘ Treasury grown monstrous, either by
‘ obstructing or diverting the Publick
‘ Aliment, and by contracting new
‘ Debts: The Grandees themselves
‘ conspire to cheat in their several
‘ Stations, in order to advance or
‘ support their own Extravagancies:
‘ The

viii *The* P R E F A C E.

John de Laet, Margrave, Hernandes, and others, are brought from the adjacent Parts in great Quantities. Gold is washed down by the Torrents from the Mountains, where some precious Stones are found. In a Word, the Country is much the same with the neighbouring Isthmus of *Darien*, which has been so well described by Mr. *Ringrose*, Monsieur *Raveneau de Lufsan*, and more lately by Captain *Dampier*, and Mr. *Waser*, that nothing more need be said here of this Part of the *Terra Firma*.



Monfieur *DE POINTI*'s
A C C O U N T
 O F H I S
E X P E D I T I O N
 T O
C A R T H A G E N A,

In the Year, 1697.

THE Design I had long ſince form'd, of a Naval Expedition, that might be both honourable and advantageous, was put off from time to time by intervening Accidents, although *Monf. Pontchartrain* had receiv'd his Majeſty's Approbation of the Project I had the Honour to preſent him; and had, likewise, obtained the Ships, Men, and Ammunitions, which I propoſed to take with me.

But at length, the laying up of the Fleet, brought by Count *Chateau Renault* from *Toulon*, leaving all the Marine, in a manner, idle; and the Meaſures I had taken with *Treaſurer General Vanolles*, ſeeming to promiſe a ſufficient Fund for the Expence, there appeared no farther Obſtacles to the Execution of this Enterprize.

Hereupon we propos'd our Design to the Publick ; which was so generally lik'd, and People were so forward to bring in their Money, that *Vanolles* was not able to receive it fast enough ; infomuch, that he fancy'd he should be forced to refuse several Persons, by Reason we had agreed upon the Sum, and resolv'd not to exceed it.

But the Face of Affairs became soon altered ; for the Peace being concluded with *Savoy*, made it hop'd, that it would suddenly be attended with a General One : And 'twas believed, that if the War should be at an End, before I was under Sail, I should be order'd to the contrary ; and so the Money employ'd upon our Armament, would be infallibly lost. And now People were so far from offering new Sums, that those who had already engag'd in the Design, would have been very willing to have withdrawn their Contributions.

I could not inform every Body, that Count *Maurepas*, who was acquainted with the Particulars of our Project, had engag'd Monsieur *Pontchartrain*, to ask his Majesty, what should be done with our Armament, in Case the Peace should be agreed upon ? And that his Majesty was pleas'd to Answer, that I might go on with it ; for, if the Peace should be concluded, he would take Care to re-imburse the Adventurers. And we were assur'd of this Favour, by an express Article insert'd in the Margin of the Minutes of the Marine Council, that was held upon this Matter : Nevertheless, many Persons considering, that the best which could happen, would be to receive their Money again, chose rather to keep it in their Purses.

And besides this Prejudice, the ill Success of some Attempts that preceded mine, and from which great Matters were expected, discourag'd the Publick more than the Appearance of an approaching Peace.

By

Expedition to Carthagena. 3

By this means we were obliged to proceed upon the Fund that was already advanced, which was much inferior to what I had proposed ; and this compelled me to lessen our Preparations, and consequently weaken the Armament. However, being determined to go thorough with my Undertaking, I resolved to make use of the Advantages which the Court was pleased to confer on me, in allowing me such considerable Succours. So I returned to *Brest* in the beginning of *October*, 1696 ; and to Work we went, with all imaginable Diligence, to fit out our Fleet : But the bad Weather hindered our Careening ; so that we could not get out of *Brest*, but lay in that Road 'till the 6th of *January* ; from whence my Project was to have sailed the beginning of the preceeding *November*.

To add to our Misfortune, I was at that time not able to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind that then offered ; because I staid for a great Convoy of Arms and Provision, that were laden for me at *Rochel*, without which I could not proceed ; I had continually expected it for three Months. In the midst of these Perplexities, I understood they were at last arrived at *Port Lewis*, where they were forced to put in, to avoid a Squadron of the Enemy, that had for some time cruised upon that Coast, and had them in Sight. By this, I found our Naval Preparation upon the very point of miscarrying ; our Provisions were already much diminished, and the Appearance very great, that the Enemy's Squadron would remain there, and we utterly consume our Provisions in the Road of *Brest* ! Upon which I fix'd my Resolution ; which although it seemed very hazardous, was yet the only Method that the Posture of my Affairs would permit me to take : It was to find out my Convoy, and even to disengage them at the hazard of a Battle : Now, altho'

I ſhould have the beſt of it; yet it could not be without a mighty Inconveniency to me; but I flattered my ſelf, that poſſibly I might not be diſcovered by the Enemy; or, in caſe of meeting with them, get indifferently well off, and reſit at *Port Lewis*, and then try to get out; and happen what would, by whatſoever way it ſhould be my Fate to be loſt, I had rather have been ruin'd with our Arms in our Hands, than miſcarry for want of Reſolution, and in a ſhameful Abode there.

Accordingly I had given my Orders to ſail the next Day; at which Time I underſtood by Signals from *Uſhant*, that they deſcribed a very large Fleet. We knew very well, by ſeveral Accounts that there were about Forty *Engliſh* Men of War abroad, with Orders to cruize before *Breſt*; and by all manner of Means to prevent my Paſſage, by which my Departure ſeem'd impoſſible, my Enterprize defeated, and my Miſfortune unavoidable. However, I propos'd other Matters to myſelf and kept to my firſt Reſolution, not thinking my Condition much worſe for this News: The little way between *Breſt* and *Port-Lewis*, or the Entrance into the River *Morbihan*; of which I had taken particular Care to inform myſelf, that I might ſecure my Retreat into it, gave me ſome Hopes to believe, that I might probably get in thither, before I ſhould be too deeply engag'd in a Battle; and then having once got on Board what the Convoy had brought me, I might by the Favour of the long Nights, get away, without being ſeen by the Enemy, or at the worſt Eſcape a ſmall Danger in a running Fight. So this great Fleet did no more alter my Circumſtances, than if it had been a ſmall Squadron; againſt which, in the Juncture I was in, the Hazard of fighting was as dangerous as with a capital Fleet, my Care being to get away, and proſecute the Bu-
ſineſs

Expedition to Carthagea. §

siness of my Project. Besides, if I could get a little before the Enemies, there was no great an Appearance for them either to come easily up with me; or that they would be in Condition to pursue me for two thousand Leagues that I might lead them: I had, Moreover, the Opportunity of separating my Ships in the Night, by ordering them different Courses to the appointed Rendezvouts.

The Governor of *Usbant* sent an Express to assure me, That he could discern forty Men of War, amongst which were five *English* or *Dutch* Flags: I received this News at Midnight, and making Use of it in a Manner quite different to the Opinion of them that sent it me, I made the sailing Signal, and was under Sail by that Time it was Day, it being upon the Seventh of *January*, 1697. I had some Days before, sent my Orders to the Vessels at *Port Lewis*, to come away immediately, running all Hazards to join me; but to keep so near the Shoar, that the Enemies Ships might not dare to approach them; or to avoid their Cannon by running into the Ports that are upon that Coast; which are good enough to cover such small Vessels, as I expected from the Danger of Cruisers. I had sent the *Mutine* Frigate, and the *Providence* Brigantine, to convoy them who expected them at *Pennemarc Point*.

We were hardly got out of the *Goulet* when she saw the Fleet appear at *Point Raz*, with the small Convoy I had sent to them; whereupon I came immediately to an Anchor at *Bertheaume*, where I made all the haste I could to get our Provisions on Board our Ships and Fly-boats, and by extraordinary Diligence, I was in a Condition of sailing the next Day.

We were hardly got into the Course, when the *Scepter* struck upon a Place, where, according to the Rules of Navigation, there could be no Manner of Danger; after having struck three Times very violently,

lently, we thought she was just upon sinking, especially when we saw a great many Planks floating upon the Water; at the same Time we perceiv'd her to float, and running immediately to the Pumps, we found she did not make one Drop of Water. We could not tell what to think of this Accident, however, it was concluded, that it could not be a Rock she had struck upon, but upon some sunk Vessel that floated under Water, which being less strong than the *Scepter*, had occasioned us that Alarm by the breaking of her Planks, without any ways prejudicing the *Scepter*. We continued our Course, endeavouring to avoid the Enemies: I had so regulated myself to the Tides, as to be, by the Beginning of the Night, at *Pennemarc Point*; besides there was no great Probability I should be discovered in sailing so little a way, especially by Reason of our holding so near the Coast. I resolved at the same Time to steer directly from *Pennemarc* to the Coast of *Spain*, which I designed to leave to the *Southward*. This Course, so contrary to what is customarily taken, to get clear of the Land, which the Enemies must know I designed; and upon which, most probably, they formed their Method of Cruising, was the most likely Expedient to deceive them. This had the desired Effect, and the Wind continuing favourable, I first made *Cape Ortegal*, and afterwards continued my Course toward the Island of *St. Domingo*, where I arrived in fifty-five Days; during which there happened nothing remarkable, unless it was, that having passed the Tropic, we met with *West-South-West* Winds, and consequently contrary, which is not usual.

The Pleasure of arriving at *Cape Francis*, which was that Part of *St. Domingo* that I came to, was mitigated by several Accidents. I understood there that Capt. *Desangetts*, who commanded three Ships

Expedition to Carthagena. 7

in those Seas, for whom I had Orders to join with my Squadron, was eight Days before my Arrival sail'd upon his Return to *France*. I was there likewise inform'd by *Monf. Daunou*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, that the Succours which *Monf. Du Casse*, Governor of the Coast had prepared for me, consisted in about four hundred Men, altho' he had Orders to join me with the Strength of the whole Colony.

It is true, that by good Fortune all the Pyrates of those Parts, which are usually called *Buccaniers*, were met together at that Time: It was thought that I might find a Party of them; but it was no ways to be imagin'd, that I should find them all; for they go out and come in as they please; consequently, this Assistance could not be computed at 14 or 1500 Men, as I was made to believe I should find at *St. Domingo*, neither did they exceed 600. So I was near upon a thousand Men short of my Account.

The Departure of *Capt. Desaugets* depriv'd me of a like Number of Men, and two great Ships. Moreover, I was fallen short of two great Ships, and several Frigates, specified in my first Project, by which Means I found myself reduc'd to half the Force I propos'd at the Beginning.

I did not think fit to come to an Anchor at the *Cape*, but left there three Frigates, the *Mutine*, the *Avenant*, and the *Marin*, to take in such Forces as might be drawn from thence, and the fresh Provisions which *Commissary Du Tilluel* was to supply my Squadron with.

S. Vandrille, Commander of the *Marin*, that was sent two Months before I left *France*, with Orders for *Monf. Du Casse* to have the Forces ready that were appointed for my assistance, after he had carried his Dispatches to *Petit Guayves*, sailed for the *Cape*, and attended me there.

In his Passage from *France* to *St. Domingo*, he was attacked by an *English* Ship of 54 Guns, who notwithstanding her Superiority, was forced to retire with Shame, after a Fight of several Hours.

Desaugets going for the *Honduras*, before he returned to *France*, had ordered the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran*, on Board the *Christ*, taken from the *Spaniards*, to sail directly for *France*, with the *Favourite* Frigate, whom I found at the Cape upon his Departure. These two Ships were both mann'd with the *Favourite's* Crew only, consequently very weak Men of War; wherefore I resolved to make use of but one of them, to put all the Men into her, and leave the other Ship at *Petit Guaves*. By Virtue of the King's Letter, which I had to *Desaugets*, and his Squadron, I ordered *La Motte d'Heran* to join me; which he did, and chose the *Christ* that he commanded.

About Eight a Clock, upon the Sixth of *March* I came to an Anchor over-against *Exter*, the usual Residence of *Monf. Du Casse*; who came immediately on Board, to advise with me about the shipping of the Men he was to bring me; and seeing that I did not dissemble neither my Surprise, nor my Trouble at the small Number of Men he had provided for me; he protested that he had done all he could, and continually endeavoured to make me have a great Opinion of the good Success of this Attempt; for that the *Buccaniers* were at that Juncture all together, and would every Man of 'em perform Wonders. We agreed that he should go to *Petit Guaves*, and that I would be ready by that time it was Day, to get into the Port: *Du Casse* came thither to join me, having a Design on Foot which I did not imagine; I brought him the Duplicate of the Order which he had received from *St. Vandrille*, which he did not read when I delivered it to him, by reason it was wrote in Cyphers. There

was

Expedition to Carthagena. 9

was added in that Letter, without my Knowledge, that he was to contrive the Means of succeeding in an Attempt that was approved by his Majesty, without damaging the Colony: This Restriction did in some Measure deprive me of the Power of commanding his Forces, seeing he had an Opportunity of pretending to keep them for the Preservation of his Colony. He said, that he would not insist upon Terms with me, as being perswaded that I would have a regard to his Character. I replied, That the greatest Character he could pretend to, was that of being Captain of a Ship, which he had the Honour to command by his Commission; all that I could do, was, that he should serve in that Capacity, according to his Seniority, which did submit him to several others, who nevertheless, would not pretend to concern themselves with the Forces of his Government; in Relation to whom, I should address myself to him; that he was to accept this Proposition, or not to embark with me, for I had no Orders to compel him.

After refusing these Offers he left me; and thinking no more of him, I was surprized to hear, that he took all imaginable Care for what was personally necessary to him in this Expedition; and that he reported, he would rather come on board as a private Soldier, than not engage in so glorious an Affair. He shewed much Courage and Desire of Glory in his Discourse, and it is Pity, that he afterwards discover'd his Resolution to proceed from Motives and Interests something less generous.

In the mean Time we employ'd ourselves in getting of Water, Wood, and other Things necessary for the Squadron, and to fit up the Vessels of the *Buccaniers*, which were all unrigg'd; without the Help of the Rigging and Cordage, that I ordered to be delivered them by my Squadron, it would have been impossible for them to put to Sea; we

likewise distributed the Provisions there, which I had brought for the Forces that were to embark with me; in short, we prepared all things for our Departure. It was then necessary to regulate the Pretensions of the *Buccaniers*, who desired to be assured of their Shares of the expected Prizes.

These Free-booters are, for the most Part, compos'd of those that desert from Ships that come upon the Coast: The Advantage they bring to the Governors, protects them against the Prosecution of the Law; besides, all those that are apprehended in *France*, as Vagabonds, or such as can give no Account of themselves, are sent to these Islands, where they are oblig'd to serve for three Years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the Plantations; at the End of the Term of Servitude, some Body lends them a Gun, and to Sea they go a *Buccaniering*. This Profession hath maintained itself a long while by this Sort of Recruits, and subsists by their Piracies; they were formerly altogether independent, but of late Years they have been reduced under the Government of the Coast of *St. Domingo*; they have Commissions given them, for which they pay the Tenth of all Prizes, and are now called the King's Subjects: For the Governors of *St. Domingo* being enrich'd by them, do mightily extol them for the Damages they do to the *Spaniards*, and endeavour to have it believed that the *Buccaniers* are the Strength and Support of the Colony; whereas, they are in Effect the Ruin of it: For if such as are conveyed thither, were kept from the Liberty of embracing this infamous Profession, which an Impunity for all sorts of Crimes renders so much beloved, we should not have lost, in a few Years, above six thousand Men, that might have improved and peopled the Colony. And thus indeed they would have been truly the Strength and Support of the Place.

As

Expedition to Carthagena. 11

As to their Matters, altho' they are pleased to be counted the King's Subjects, yet it is with so much Arrogance, as obliges all those that are desirous to make use of them, to court them in the most flattering Terms. This not being agreeable to my Disposition, and being they were in the Dominions of his Majesty, and esteeming them as his Subjects, which the Governor was obliged to deliver to me ; I plainly told them, that they should find me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a Companion of their Fortune ; that if they made any Difficulties, either to embark or obey, I would certainly burn all their Vessels, even to the poorest Boats, and inevitably deprive them of the Means for some Years, if not for ever, of continuing their Depredations.

It was fear'd, that upon these Threats they would betake themselves to the Woods, as being their usual Retreat upon any Dissatisfaction : But I knew they apprehended very much the Execution of my Menaces ; and moreover, that the Governor, who is so highly concerned in their Piracies, would omit no sort of Care to retain them in their Duty.

The Demand they made, of having their Share in the Division of the Prizes secured to them, was very reasonable ; therefore I explained myself in Writing, and caused it to be fixed up in several Places, implying, *That they should, Man for Man, have the same Shares of Booty, that were allowed to the Men on Board the King's Ships.*

I was informed of their Customs, and that of divers Ways of dividing the Shares, (which is commonly a very troublesome Business) ; the most usual Method was this, by reckoning by the Number of the Men ; for Example : A Vessel of a hundred Men, hath double the Allowance that is made to another of but Fifty, so the rest in Proportion. I made no manner of Delay in the Choice I was to

make ; as likewise to acquaint them, that I could not meddle with any thing that belonged to the King, the Admiral, and the Undertakers of the Armament. That his Majesty had been pleased to allow to the several Ships Companies, the Tenth of the First Million, and a Thirtieth Part of all the others : And I engaged myself in Writing to give the *Buccaniers* the same Terms. *Du Casse* told me, that I had taken the easiest Method, desiring me only to leave with him the Original of that Writing, including the Frigate *Pontchartrain*, commanded by Lieutenant *Mornay*, who desired to serve in the Squadron upon the same Conditions that I had granted to the *Buccaniers* : There was likewise comprehended, at the Desire of *Du Casse*, a Frigate of *St. Malo*, fitted both for War and Traffick. We shall have Occasion to mention this Writing again, in the Sequel of our Story.

Upon the Eighteenth, all the Ships that I had left at *Cape Francis*, having join'd my Squadron with *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had likewise ordered to join me ; I made ready on the Nineteenth to go and anchor at *Cape Tiburon*, being the furthest Western Point of *St. Domingo* ; the Water there is better and easier to be got, than in any other Place, so it was absolutely necessary for me to touch there ; besides, I was very desirous to get out of Port, to oblige the *Buccaniers* to come on Board, which they ever defer to the last Moment ; however, they at last got on Board, seeing me at some Distance, and followed the Squadron, as also the *Pontchartrain*, which *Du Casse* had chosen for himself ; when on a sudden, a violent North-wind, which is very extraordinary, and rarely known in this Season, scattered not only the *Buccaniers*, but likewise all the Ships of my Squadron, infomuch that I continued alone for above thirty Hours, two Chaloups sent from the *Scepter*,

Expedition to Carthagena. 13

'to the Assistance of two *Buccaniers* in danger of stranding, not being able to get up with me ; but good Weather coming on, we all met upon the 28th in the Road of *Irois*, three Leagues distant from *Cape Tiburon*.

Until then I had kept my Design secret, not being wholly determined on the Matter : *Du Casse*, who understood by his Letters from Court, that the principal Design of the Expedition was upon *Carthagena*, did judge the Execution impossible, by Reason of the several Accidents already mention'd, and the small Number of Forces with me. He represented unto me, with much Appearance of Reason, that according to the last Advices from the *Indian Coasts*, the Galleons must be at *Porto Bello*, or upon their Way to *Carthagena*, in order to their Return for *Spain* ; that we might reasonably hope to meet with them by steering that Course ; and that by our Strength we might reckon ourselves secure of them, altho' we found them in *Porto Bello*, for notwithstanding the Port is defended by three Castles, yet it is open enough for us to get in, and possess ourselves of those Castles, by Means of our Bombs. But I had my Reasons not to follow this Opinion : The Galleons might as well be at *Carthagena* as at Sea, and I was sensible, by my own Experience, how uncertain 'tis to meet Ships at Sea, a Thing not to depended upon ; moreover, it seemed plain to me, that the less the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to defend themselves at *Porto Bello*, the less Reason I had to hope for an Advantage by their Defeat, otherwise than in the Honour I might gain ; for they would certainly have burnt, or sunk, their Ships, upon the Approach of such a Squadron as I had the Honour to command, and that Treasure, not lost to them, must have been absolutely so to me, since I could not possibly have continued long enough there, to get it out of the Water.

These

14 *Monfieur De Pointi's*

These Considerations absolutely diffuaded me from going firft of all to *Porto Bello*, which Voyage would have fpent my Provisions, and render'd me uncapable of any other confiderable Attempt. *Vera Cruz* was a more likely Place ; for we were well affured, that one of the Flotas had been there ever fince the Beginning of *September*, and that they could not go away before the Beginning of *May*, therefore I could not mifs meeting with them ; moreover, my Forces were fufficient to make me Mafter of the City, which may be entred without our being expofed to the Fire of the Caſtle, which is impregnable by its advantageous Situation : It is built on a Rock, in the middle of the Sea, and furrounded on all Sides with extraordinary Fortifications. However, with my great Store of Artillery, I could, in a very little Time have reduced that Caſtle to Aſhes ; beſides the Bombs that I could have uſed from my Ships, I might have rais'd what Batteries of Cannon and Mortars I pleaſed on Shoar, which is not above two hundred Yards from it.

I ſhould not have run the Riſque here as I muſt have done at *Porto Bello*, of ſeeing the *Spaniards* burn the Ships to deprive me of their Silver : For it being well known they do embark the Plate there, but a very few Days before the Departure of the Flota, conſequently, at the worſt, I could only have loſt the Merchandizes, of which I made little Account. In ſhort, 'tis probable, I ſhould have engag'd in this Expedition, had I not received ſome Advices at *St. Domingo*, that occaſioned me new Perplexities, viz. That tho' the Plate was not uſed to be embark'd until the Day before the Fleet ſailed, and was brought from *Mexico* to *Vera Cruz*, long before it was put on Board ; yet of late Years, upon ſome Jealouſies, they bring it no farther than *Pueblo de los Angelos*, forty Leagues up the Country, from

Expedition to Carthagera. 15

from whence 'tis conveyed directly on Board the Flota.

According to the Rules of Navigation, which 'tis not necessary to insert here, the Flota could not fail till the Month of *May*; yet they might not come away even until the Month of *August*; so if they had not by Chance taken the Resolution of coming away with the first of the Season, it being then but *March*, and we not above three Weeks sail from them, I did foresee that our Design would be ruin'd by my Arrival before the Plate was brought down, and I was no ways in a Condition of marching forty Leagues, with such a small Body of Forces, in an Enemy's, and well-inhabited Country. Moreover I was not willing to begin with a Place that should have frustrated my farther Intentions, in case I had been unsuccessful: For such is the Nature of the Gulph of *Mexico*, at the Bottom whereof *Vera Cruz* is situated, that at our coming out again, it would not be possible for us to entertain any other Thoughts, but those of returning to *Europe*, as well because of the Length of the Voyage, as because the Winds and the Setting of the Currents, would have prevented all other Attempts to the Eastward.

The only Place I could fix my Resolutions upon, was *Carthagera*, which lay to windward; and altho' I should have missed my Aim there, yet it would not have been any Obstacle to my other Designs; not even against *Vera Cruz*, unless I consumed my Time by adventurously falling upon the first Place, without a well-grounded Assurance of carrying it: The small Number of my Forces, was the only Thing that could dissuade me from this Attempt; but this Want of Strength, might be remedied by good Management.

Capt. *Venner*, an *Englishman*, having been several Years in the Service of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*,

dies, and commanded several of their Ships, was lately come into the Service of *France*, and was placed on Board *Desaugets*, until some other Employ should be given him. This Officer was very well acquainted with the Coasts and Places of the *West-Indies*; he had likewise some Knowledge of Geometry, and by the Assistance of *Canette*, my principal Engineer, I got him to draw several Plans, especially that of *Cartbagen*, which we found to be as exact as any Thing could be expected that was made by Memory.

My first Design was to have immediately landed with five thousand Men, near *Cartbagen*, not including the Seamen. I expected to have drawn these Forces from the Places before-mentioned, with which I reckoned I should be able to force the Place, tho' besides its ordinary Defence, the whole Strength of the Galleons should have been in it. But I was all Manner of Ways very much mistaken in my Account, scarce having one half of the Forces I propos'd, with which there was no Probability of taking a Place so famous in *India*, and so well known in *Europe*, for its Fortifications, which I found to be even better than they were reputed to be. The Ships were to anchor in the open Sea, and by that means must have been expos'd to all the Inconveniences of the bad Season, which was not quite over; besides, I might have been surpriz'd by the *English* Squadron, which I knew had Orders to follow me. In this case there was no likelihood for me to expect any Service from the Seamen, it being altogether necessary to leave them on Board to work the Ships in bad Weather; but then again, having only the Land-Forces to re-embark, I might, upon any Occasion, soon put myself into a Posture of Defence.

Then I imagin'd, that if instead of attacking *Cartbagen*, I only attempted *Bocca cbica*, which defends the Entrance into that vast Harbour, called the

Expedition to Carthagena. 17

the *Lagune* of *Carthagena*, and should carry that Fort, the rest would be easily acquired, by reason I might bring my Ships under the Protection of this Fort, and thereby make use of the Seamen that might then be spared from the Ships, which would in some Measure make up the Want of Land-Forces.

However, this Design had its Difficulties likewise : For the Passage which this Fort defends, is so narrow and winding, that there's no sailing through it, but you must warp your Ships along by their Anchors and Cables ; now two Ships riding within, can prevent this Work, and alone defend the Entrance against the strongest Fleet : I could not imagine, but that the *Spaniards* would use that Precaution, in case the Galleons had been at *Carthagena*.

On the other Hand, if I could make a Descent on any other Part of the Island, at one End of which stands *Carthagena*, at the other *Bocca chica*, I might probably surmount all Difficulties, by expeditiously landing of my Cannon ; with which crossing the Island, and raising of Batteries on the Banks of the *Tagon*, I knew very well, I could either sink, or force away any Ships that should be posted to defend the Entrance : As to the Fort, I did no ways doubt the taking of it with the Help of my Bombs, in spite of any Succours the Enemy might bring to it by Land.

Being once in Possession of *Bocca chica*, I had several Reasons for good Hopes, in case the Galleons were not there, that I should, by the Help of the Seamen (which I might take when the Ships were secur'd) be enabled to attempt *Carthagena* ; and if the Galleons were there, then I propos'd to attack them ; and in case they should resolve to sink themselves, then I should be able so to terrify the Place with my Bombs, that they would yield to a Contribution that might reimburse my Undertakers ; and

D

from

from thence I could afterwards steer to some other Leeward Place.

After I had duly weighed these Matters, I absolutely resolved upon sailing to *Carthagena*, and I published my Resolution; which was applauded and received with all Marks of Satisfaction from the Soldiers. *Du Casse* propos'd the sending away two Frigates of *Buccaniers*, to precede me, which should land in the Night near *Carthagena*, to take what Prisoners they could make, and carry them to *Sambee*, twelve Leagues to Windward of *Carthagena*, and there expect our Coming. Capt. *Pierre*, and Capt. *Blou*, were instantly commanded to sail upon this Design; but instead of executing these Orders, the Desire of Pillaging, according to their usual Custom, engaged them to chase some small Vessels they met, which they had not the Courage to board after they had driven them aground; and this occasioned them to lose so much Time, that without having been at *Carthagena*, they arrived after me at *Sambee*, where a sudden Gust from the North-East, called here a Breeze, had forced me to come to an Anchor, and wait for better Weather to appear before *Carthagena* in.

On the thirteenth, the Wind being abated, we got under Sail, and directed our Course for *Carthagena*. The whole Fleet was composed of these Ships: Seven Frigates from eight to twenty four Guns, on board them about six hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*. One hundred and ten Inhabitants of *St. Domingo*, one hundred and seventy Garrison Soldiers of the Coast, and one hundred and eighty Negroes, were dispersed on board the Men of War, and Flyboats belonging to the Squadron. This was all the Assistance which I received from the Government of *St. Domingo*.

The

Expedition to Carthagena. 19

The *Pontchartrain*, and the *French Frigate* were join'd to us as before mentioned ; the one having forty Guns, and one hundred Men ; the other twenty four Guns, and sixty Men.

The Squadron was compos'd of seven great Ships.

The *Scepter*, carrying eighty four Guns, and six hundred and fifty Men, commanded by *Guillotin* : I was on board this Ship.

The *St. Lewis* of sixty four Guns, and four hundred and twenty Men, commanded by *Levy*, who acted as Vice-Admiral.

The *Fort* of seventy Guns, and four hundred and fifty Men, commanded by the Viscount *Coetlogon*, who served as Rear Admiral.

The *Vermandois*, *Apollo Furieux*, and *St. Michael*, all four of sixty Guns each, and three hundred and fifty Men, were commanded by *Dubuisson Gombaud*, *La Motte Michel*, and the Chevalier *de Marolles*.

The *Christ*, a *Spanish Prize*, commanded by the Chevalier *de la Motte d'Heran*, of two hundred and twenty Men, and forty four Guns.

The *Avenant*, by the Chevalier *Francine*, two hundred Men, and thirty Guns.

The *Marin*, commanded by *St. Vandrille*, had one hundred and eighty Men, and twenty eight Guns.

The *Eclatant*, Bomb-Vessel, comanded by *Demons*, had sixty Men.

The *Providence*, Brigantine, of thirty Men, and four Guns, commanded by the Chevalier *De L'Escauet*.

Two Flyboats.

Four Boats, call'd by the *French Traversier*, who had each of them one Gun, and a Mortar.

On board thefe Ships, and Veffels, were one hundred and ten Officers, fifty five Guards Marine, two thoufand one hundred Sea-men, one thoufand feven hundred and fifty Soldiers, effective Men.

Before I left the Road of *Irois*, or Cape *Tiburon*, which is the fame Place, I had regulated the Defcent, and the manner of employing our Forces.

The Captains of the Men of War, *viz.* thofe that effectually were fo, (but not all thofe who commanded for fuch, as did feveral Galliot-Captains, and fome Men of War Lieutenants) were to ferve as General-Officers, dividing themfelves according to their Seniority, to be alternately afhoar and on board; for it was abfolutely neceffary to have fome of them always in Command on board the Ships. *Du Caffé* had the Command of all the *Buccaniers*, and Inhabitants of the Coaft, whom I left to him, under their ancient Captains.

By Order of the Court, there was a State Major, compos'd of *Sorel*, Infpector-General of the Marine Troops of *Britany*. The Defire of ferving in this Expedition, induc'd him likewise to take upon him the Function of Major-General; but taking place only as Captain of *Tbefut*, Major; of two Aid-Majors-Generals, who were the Chevaliers *Jaucoru* and *De Pointis*; a Sub-Major-General, *Berandin*; and fome Guards Marine, as Sub-Majors:

Of *Du Tilleul*, Commiffary.

One principal Engineer, and another, *viz.* *Cannelle* and *Tangey*, for whom were compos'd two Brigades of Officers, or Guards-Marine, as alfo fome Voluntier-Soldiers, that were in fome meafure thought capable of ferving as Engineers. The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Creft*, and *Courfy*, were the chief of thefe Brigades; the Chevaliers *de Nefmond*, and *Pouilermont*, Ensigns. *La Land du Cbes*, and *Rochebonne*, Guards-Marine, chofe to ferve as Aids de Camps under me.

Expedition to Carthagena. 21

Six Battalions were compos'd of the Soldiers on board the King's Ships ; the first was a Body of two hundred and fifty Grenadiers, drawn out of all the rest commanded, by *La Roche de Vigier*, Capt. of a Frigate, but then serving as second Captain on board the *Scepter*, commanded, I say, by him, as Colonel ; *le Chevaliers de Vexins*, Lieutenant of a Man of War, as Lieutenant Colonel ; *Vaujaux* serv'd as Major ; *St. Lazare d' Aide* ; *Framine*, *Montrusier*, and *Vignancourt*, had the Command of the five Companies that made this Battalion.

The five Senior Lieutenants of Infantry Marine, commanded as Colonels in the five other Battalions of three hundred Men each ; who were the Chevalier *Marolles*, *le Chenau*, *de Bresne*, *Simonet* ; the Guards-Marine were divided among them to augment the Number of Officers. Besides these, I made Detachments of four hundred Seamen, under their own Officers, all arm'd with Scythes and Pistols ; upon occasion, these were to be commanded by Lieutenants of Ships, that had no Companies, who were *de Vaultx*, *Languejoue*, *Carcavy*, *Siglas*, and *Sabran* ; these were to be reliev'd by five Captains of Fireships that were on board our Squadron.

The one hundred and seventy Soldiers drawn out of the Garrisons on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, were in a separate Body, and commanded by *Beaumont*. The one hundred and ten Inhabitants, and the one hundred and eighty Negroes, made each of them another. The *Buccaniers* were all in one Troop.

The Plans, and Memoirs, which I had of several Places, of whose Errors I have much reason to complain, were nevertheless true in one Point : For they gave me a plain Assurance, that if we did not seize at our Arrival at *Carthagena*, upon a considerable Eminence, and a Church called *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, that commands the Avenues, all the
Treasure

Treasure would be carried off, the greatest Part being in Gold and Emeralds, easily to be transported up into the Country ; which the *Spaniards* would not fail to do, upon the Approach of such a formidable Fleet.

To get Possession of this Post, I resolved to land the *Buccaniers* the Night after my coming to an Anchor, they being very proper for such an Attempt, as being accustomed to marching and subsisting in the Woods, where each of them carries his own Provisions, and lives upon what he kills ; so I was informed at least : Thus not being encumbered with any Baggage, their March might be kept secret, their Irruption unexpected, and in case of Necessity, their Retreat secure by Ways unpassable to others. I had concerted with *Du Casse* all things relating to this Design, which he undertook to see executed : We agreed upon the Signals he should make me by Fires from the Hills, to acquaint me whether he wanted any Assistance, or Vessels to re-embark his Men ; or upon Taking of the Post, whether he was in a Condition of maintaining it or not. On my Part, I was to inform him by Signals from the Ships of my Condition, and the Resolution which various Accidents might oblige me to take.

Having concluded upon this Method of executing our Design, we arriv'd between *Cartagena* and Point *Hicacos*, four Leagues to the Eastward, where finding good Anchorage in a great Bay, which the Land makes by running out to the Southward, we came to an Anchor about Four a Clock, two Leagues from the City, on the same Day, being the Thirteenth. The Squadron was got ready in the Morning at *Sambec*, and I deliver'd all my Orders by Signals : By this Diligence I was sure to make a secure Descent, it not being possible that
an

Expedition to Carthagera. 23

an Enemy could be able to guard all the Shoar, or march down time enough to hinder our landing.

So soon as the Ships were come to an Anchor, I made the Signal for the Chaloups (that were to land the *Buccaniers*) to go on board their Frigats, so soon as it was dark, and to them to be in Readiness for the Boats, altho' it was resolved they should not embark till Midnight, to the End they might be ashore some Hours only before Daylight.

In the mean Time, the *Fort*, the *Mutine*, and the Bomb-Vessel, according to their Orders, were advanc'd towards the City ; the last near enough to bombard, and the other two to guard her. I expected, by thus employing of the Enemy with my Bombs, to divert them from taking other necessary Precautions.

When the *Buccaniers* were to be embarked, in order to their landing, they did not behave themselves so heroically as *Du Cassé* had boasted of them : For this Separation from the King's Forces afforded them a Prospect of the dreadfulest Dangers ; they began to apprehend the Want of Provisions in the Woods, where they were used to subsist many Days, when they were only to rob and cut People's Throats sleeping, whereas now they were to march against a People that stood on their Defence ; yet to take away one of their Pretences that covered their Fear, we delivered them Provision, and the Major-General, after much stirring, got them at last into the Boats.

All was in a Readiness for the Descent, when I fortunately resolved to visit the Shoar, for the most proper Place of landing : One would not have thought that in a great Bay, sheltered from the Winds that usually reign upon this Coast, where Ships find a good Anchorage, and the Sea calm, it should be impossible to get ashore ; but scarce were we

we

we come to it, when the Waves breaking upon the Rocks even with the Water, did but little mifs of filling my Canoe quite full of Water at once: *Levy*, *Du Caffé*, and *Tilluel* were with me. We rowed down the Strand towards *Carthagena*, in Hopes of finding some proper Place ; but there the Sea ran higher than from whence we came ; and when we were fall'n fo low, that it was not poffible to proceed farther without engaging ourfelves among feveral little Lakes that from this Part water all the Territories of *Carthagena*, our Canoe came athwart a Sea that filled her half full of Water ; and now, in all Probability, our Enterprize, as yet not begun, was likely to end in a Goal : But *Levy* leaping into the Water, and by his Example encouraging the Seamen, that followed him, to ufe their utmoft Efforts, we at length got our Canoe afloat, that had ftruck on the Rock, and delivered ourfelves from that imminent Danger. Our firft Care was, by the other Canoes of the Major's, to difpatch Orders to the Chaloups, not to come near the Shoar ; where, embarrafs'd by a great Number of People on board them, and being every Way larger, drawing more Water, and not fo well provided with Rowers as my Canoe was, their Ruin muft have been inevitable.

We were then, notwithstanding all our Draughts and Memoirs, oblig'd to agree, that *Carthagena* was inacceffable on this Side : For if in fo calm a Day, the Sea was fo boifterous as we found it, what were we to expect in other Weather ? In fhort, the Stay we made in this Country, had fhewn us by Experience, as well as inform'd us by the Relations of the Inhabitants, that the Sea upon all this Coaft, and in all Seasons, is a natural invincible Rampart ; and that *Carthagena* is approachable only by the Lake, which makes the Harbour.

Expedition to Carthageria. 25

I reflected with Concern on this disastrous Adventure ; I foresaw, that in not being able to possess myself of that considerable Post of *Nostre dame de la Pouppe*, I should afford the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of several Days to carry off whatsoever they were desirous to save, by Reason I could not be able to come at them, until I had taken the Fort of *Bocca chica*.

Being wholly bent upon *Bocca chica*, the Fleet got in a Readiness of sailing the Morning on the Fourteenth. We designed to pass so nigh the Walls of *Carthageria*, as to do them all the Mischief my Guns could afford them ; but notwithstanding my utmost Care to provide all Things necessary for every Vessel of the *Buccaniers*, who have the Reputation of knowing this Coast ; we found them so very ignorant, and so much at a Loss, that we durst not attempt any Thing upon the small Informations that we could get from them ; so we resolved to take the surest Precautions possible, by ordering the Chaloups to sound before us. The *Scepter* not finding Water enough, could not come within Shot of the Town ; the *Lewis* and the *Fort* that drew less, even touched in several Places. However, that did not hinder them from firing, until I made them a Signal to join the Fleet. The Enemy made no great Fire, yet we perceived they had great Pieces, and good Store of them : To our Admiration, we observed, that *Carthageria* was inclosed only on this Side with Pallisadoes, and old Walls that were in many Places fallen down ; whereupon we founded our Projects and Hope of a lucky Event ; not knowing that Nature had sufficiently provided for the Security of this Part, by the great Violence of the Sea that washes it : I touch'd twice, and came not this Night to an Anchor before *Bocca chica*, being desirous first to inform myself of all the Soundings ; but came to an Anchor so soon as we found a

proper Depth. We understood afterwards, that the Place we had been in all Day, was about eight Years since a Plain, where the People of *Caribagena* used to walk.

I sent away the Chaloups, to sound the Coast even up to the Fort. I ordered *St. Vandrille* on Board the *Marine* to an Anchor over-against the Entrance, that so he might prevent any Boats from carrying off Advice or Silver to *Porto Bello*. All the Officers and Pilots, that had been out to sound, assured me, that there was every where Water enough, even to twenty Fathom, and near the Shore; and the Coast jetting out to the Southward, had formed near the Fort, a Sort of a Haven secure from the Violence of the Sea, which ran too high every where else for a Descent; and a small Neck of Land, or Promontory, did likewise protect us from the Fire of the Fort; whereupon it was resolved to come to an Anchor there, by the Break of Day, next Morning, being the Fifteenth, and to take our Anchoring Births, according to the Disposition of the Place.

All the Fleet were at an Anchor on the Fifteenth at Noon: I immediately dispatched away Major *Thefut*, to observe what Part of the Shore was most proper for a Descent. Upon his Return, I made the Signal for landing, and ordered *Du Casse* to take eighty Negroes that were on Board the *Furieux*, to embark on Board the *Pereagoes*, which are a very light Vessel, and therefore in no Danger of stranding; with these I ordered him to make up to *Carthagena*, and to come very near the Shore, in two or three Places, without endeavouring to land, but only to draw out the Enemies, if there were any, and by that Means oblige them to discover what they were; and if there was no Appearance of any, he was to inform me of it by a Signal: The Woods lie close to the Sea-shore, where the *Spaniards* might have kept themselves concealed, and discharged

ged upon us without appearing, which oblig'd me to this Precaution ; but *Du Cassé* finding no such Matter, landed with his Negroes, and hoisted the white Flag upon a Rock. This acquainted me that he was landed : The Chaloups immediately made to Shoar, and the Descent was made without any Opposition. The Negroes were forthwith employed with their Bills and Hatchets, to make a Way thro' the Wood to the Lake, on the other Side of the Island, where we designed to encamp, and make our Approaches to the Fort, the Ground on this Side towards the open Sea, not being so proper ; besides it was necessary to cut off their Communication with *Carthagena* by Land. The Island which is but narrow at the Point where the Fort is situated, is but a Quarter of a League from the Sea to the Lake, at the Place our Negroes were cutting, within half Cannon Shot of the Fort, from which we were covered by the Woods : The Way was made in a very little Time, so that all our Troops were ranged quite cross the Island, making Places of Arms in the several Paths of the Wood that lead to *Carthagena*. By this Means we were soon posted, and the Places of Arms, or *Corps du Garde*, were near enough to speak to each other.

While we were thus setting ourselves Ashore, the *Lewis* made a little more out, and began to Cannonade the Fort ; sometime afterwards, the *Fort* Man of War doing the same, as likewise the *Scepter*, that followed at a little Distance, the Battery began to be very warm, the Bomb-Galliot, and the *Traversier* with one Mortar, having taken their Stations, played their Parts very well, which continued until Night. The Enemy made a very slow Fire, which did not occasion us much Damage, only our Yards and Rigging suffered a little, and three Men were killed or wounded.

28 *Monfieur Du Pointis's*

In our Approach to the Lake, we had a little crooked the Way leading towards the Fort, to the End we might fall directly in with a little Plain, which (the People of *St. Domingo* brought hither for our Guides, told us) lay between the Lake, the Wood, and the Fort ; so we came out at the Foot of a rising Ground, that was high and large enough to cover us, and from whence we had the Liberty of examining the Fort, which is not above Musquet-shot from it : We lodged ourselves here, expecting the Approach of Night, to examine the Ditch, and where it was proper, to open the Trenches, by cutting down a Part of the Wood, which we perceived to be much nearer to the Fort, than the Way we had cut : So soon as it was dark, the Major-General, and *Canette*, slipped away to make the Tour of the Place, upon the Bank of the Ditch ; which they did without being discovered : *Levy*, *Faucourt*, and I, being without Design insensibly advanced into the Wood, until we perceived ourselves near to the Ditch, we were desirous to examine it. The Obscurity, and great Stillness of the Night, favoured our Attempt ; we met the Major-General and *Canette* who had been round ; our Meeting happened to occasion some little Noise, upon which the Centinels fired, and we returned, sounding the Ground ; which being proper for the Work, confirmed us in the Opinion of opening the Trench in that Part of the Wood which I said was nearest to the Fort ; besides, a little Fen being between the Eminency and the Fort, did deprive us of the Convenience of carrying on our Work on that Side.

Upon the sixteenth in the Morning, we began to make our Fascines, Gabions, and to get our Artillery on Shore, which we wanted ; one of the Mortars being brought ashore in the Night, when one of those great *Pereagoes*, that are much used in
the

Expedition to Carthageria. 29

the *West Indies*, and big enough to carry sixty Men, came gently sailing on to *Bocachica* under the Shore, which she did not imagine to be in our Possession ; but being perceived by our Grenadiers there, they resolutely took their Opportunity, without waiting for Orders, and fir'd so thick into her, that at the first Discharge they killed and wounded fifteen or sixteen Men, seven or eight more, being perfectly scared, leaped into the Water and were drowned, the rest throwing themselves into the Bottom of the *Pereagoe*, she lay floating on the Water, until some of our Negroes launching off a little Boat, that was by chance there, made to her and brought her ashore. Besides the killed and wounded, there was eight and twenty Men in her, among whom were two *Franciscan* Friars, one of which had received a small Hurt in his Arm: By these Prisoners I was informed, that the Galleons were at *Porto Bello*, of which I had no certain Account since my coming out. They had been there ever since the End of *October*, and were expected every Moment at *Carthageria* ; their Stay at *Porto Bello* having been, contrary to all the Rules of Commerce, much longer than usual.

I made use of one of these Friars to represent unto the Governor (whom I designed to summon) the Insignificancy of his Defence, against such unequal Forces : I multiplied them in the Eyes of the Friar, by drawing forth all the Troops into the Wood ; and whilst they amused him, I made some of them file off through the By-ways, and advance themselves beyond those he had seen ; the Ammunition, and Train of Artillery were shewed him ; insomuch that if the Matter had depended on him only, the Fort would have been surrendered at that very instant : However, he made use of all his Eloquence to the Governor ; to whom he carried from me very honourable Proposals. He answered,
by

by my Drummer, that he was not reduced to the Condition of Capitulating ; but when he was, he would be willing to accept of the Offers I had made him : Moreover, he charged the *Franciscan* in particular, with many Civilities to me.

The *Fort* Man of War returned to her Station to batter the *Fort* ; but the Bullets that flew over it, falling into a Quarter of the Camp, that we designed not to quit, I sent her Orders not to retire, and to the *Sceptre*, and St. *Lewis*, going to the same Work, to return to their first Births. The Mortars on Board, and those on Shore, began to fire at the same Time.

About Two in the Afternoon, two greater *Pereagoes* than that in the Morning, came before the Wind, to land Succours at the *Fort*, which the Governor of *Carthagena* had been solicited to send thither, upon finding their Mistake, in believing that my Expedition was upon the Galleons, and to land at *Porto Bello* ; and that I durst not engage upon an Enterprize of that Moment, as was the attacking of *Carthagena* ; but came thither only to see if the Galleons were there.

The Adventure and Example of the Morning, inspired some of the *Buccaniers* with a Resolution of doing what the Grenadiers had done : These last *Pereagoes* having passed something wide from the Post of the last, drew to the Shore only when they were pretty near the *Fort* ; these *Buccaniers*, at the Head of whom may be about twenty Men, that deserve to be distinguished for their Courage, my Intention being very far from comprehending them in the Descriptions which I make of the others : These *Buccaniers*, I say, having possessed, themselves of some little Houses on the Lake-side, made a very great Fire upon the *Pereagoes* ; the Noise brought the Major-General, *Canette*, *Gougon*, and some other Officers to them, who encouraging this
small

small Number of *Buccaniers* accidentally joined by some Soldiers, led them towards the Fort, to prevent the *Pereagoes* that kept on their Way, from landing the Forces on Board them. The other *Buccaniers*, by the Example of the first, having taken Arms, ran to the Shore, where they made an extraordinary Fire ; but the Place being within Musket-shot of the Fort, the Enemy began to fire upon them ; and the *Buccaniers*, who are not used to engage where there is any Danger, made the most of their Heels to bring themselves to shelter : I met them in their Way, and finding that Words were of no Weight with them, I lighted on a Cudgel, and with that forced them to return to the Post they had abandoned. *Du Casse* was surpris'd at this Way of carrying Men on, yet conceal'd in Silence, the Vexation he conceived at the Action. In this Space of Time the *Pereagoes*, terrified with the Discharge they sustained, were tacked about, and on their Return towards *Carthageria* : The Major-General taking the Advantage of this Opportunity, posted himself with the small Troop that followed him, at the Foot of the Counterescarp, which the Blindness of the *Spaniards* had left so, as it cover'd us from the Fire of the Ramparts. *Canette*, *Le Cher*, *Martin*, and *Gougou*, were wounded in this Action ; fifteen Soldiers and *Buccaniers* were killed and wounded. *La Mothe*, Ensign of the *Buccaniers*, pitched his Colours, yet neither his Signal nor my Blows, were sufficiently powerful to make his Companions advance. I then imagin'd, that by sustaining those that were at the Foot of the Counterescarp, I might make an advantageous Business of this accidental Attempt : So I abandon'd the *Buccaniers* to their Cowardice, and order'd two Companies of Grenadiers, with the Battalion of *de la Chenau* that was at hand, to march : *Levy* put himself at their Head, and, to shorten

shorten the Way, marched up to his Belly through the Water, and so possessed himself likewise of the Foot of the Counterscarp ; at this instant *Du Casse* received a Contusion on the Thigh, by a Cannon Ball falling among a Heap of Stones. The Major-General did not forget to send me word, that the Post he had taken might be kept, by causing the Troops to march, altho' at the hazard of some Men, by reason of the Fire which they were to sustain in going to it ; but those Men were got to him, before his Messenger had spoke to me, so there was no Time for Deliberation, it being necessary to maintain this Lodgment ; because the Counterscarp almost environing the Place, through the Fault of not being cut sloping at the Foot, afforded Shelter from the Fire of the Ramparts, and was capable of receiving a greater Number of Men than mine. I sent Major *Theſut* to bring up the Battalions, as likewise the Ladders, with all imaginable Expedition, to be at Hand, in case there should be occasion for them ; and as the Battalions came up, so they defiled off to the Foot of the Counterscarp. The Besieged fired very briskly, but being obliged to expose their whole Bodies, that their Shot might not be made too high, and being easily reached in that Posture, they soon be-thought themselves of firing from behind their Defences, and thereby occasioned us but very little Damage.

Du Buisson Varenne was at the Place of our Descent with two Battalions, who hearing the Noise of our Fire, imagined we were attacking the Place, altho' he knew not in what Manner ; he made thro' the Wood, into the Place where the two Mortars were raised, and by the Way of the little Plain, which is but a quarter so long as that in the Wood which makes a Circle, he brought us that Supply at the Minute the Besieged called out, They were willing

Expedition to Carthagera. 33

willing to capitulate, if they might have good Quarter. I answered them, that there was good Quarter for them ; but that was all : And, that, if they did not immediately throw their Arms into the Ditch, for an Instance of their Sincerity to surrender, I would continue the setting up of my Ladders ; after which, they were not to hope for Quarter. Several of them obeyed, and we saw the Harquebuzes in the Air falling into the Ditch. By this being very well assured of their Intention, I presently confirmed the first Assurance of fair Quarter, with my farther Promises of good Usage : I required to have the Gate opened at that Instant, my Impatience not being satisfied with their calling from the Place, that they were actually at Work upon clearing of it : For I was apprehensive, that some Alteration might happen by the Delay. But to appease me, they let down a Man by a Cord, who came to assure me from the Governor, That they used the utmost Diligence to deliver themselves into my Hands. In a Moment of Time the Gate was opened, and old *Sanchez Ximenez*, who had been Governor for above twenty-five Years, came and delivered the Keys into my Possession. I gave him all the Comfort I could, in the good Usage I shewed him, by giving him and his Officers their Liberties, and among the rest too, the President of the Isle of *St. Martha*, who happened to be at that Time in the Fort, and to be wounded : Moreover, I permitted the Governor to carry away whatsoever belonged to him ; and the next Day he retired, with his Domesticks and Slaves, to his Country-Houses, on the other Side of the Lake.

This Piece of Success did not stand me in above fifty Men, therein comprehending all the several Bodies, as Grenadiers, Soldiers, Inhabitants of the Coasts, Negroes, and *Buccaniers*. The Garrison being Prisoners of War, were confined. *La Roche, du Vigier*, that commanded the Grenadiers, I made

Governor ; to whom, besides Cannoniers, and other necessary Workmen, I left the Soldiers of the Coast for his Garrison. By this I put him into a Condition of defending me, if occasion were. The Enemies Garrison did consist of about three hundred Men, whereof two hundred and ten remained fit for Service, the rest were either killed or wounded in the Bombardment, Cannonading, and Attack.

On the seventeenth we re-embarked all that we had on Shoar, towards the Main Sea, and began to work ourselves into the Lake ; but the careful transporting of our Ammunition and Provision being of the highest Consequence, and could only be counted safe in the Lake, I resolved not to stir, until they were got in : For which Reason I was obliged to defer our March until the next Day, to the second Fort, that was about two Leagues and a half from us, called *St. Croix* ; the Taking of which was not less necessary to enable our Ships to come within Cannon-shot of *Cartbagena*, than that of *Bocca cbica* to facilitate the Entrance into the Lake.

My Intention all along was to cut off the Avenues of *Cartbagena*, so soon as it was possible, by securing the Post of *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe* ; to which Purpose, I had in the Morning sent away the Brigantine, *Traversiers*, and Chaloups, necessary for the carrying of the *Buccaniers*, which I order'd upon this Expedition, for the Reasons before-mention'd. *Du Casse* fearing that a long troublesome March might bring his Contusion into a Wound, refused to charge himself with the Command : His Major, that had formerly served with those Pirates, and was at present in a considerable Employ, ought to have had this Command ; but he likewise distrusted his Health : Thus there was only *Dannou* left, who was no Ways agreeable to them, as well by Reason of his Misfortune, in not having acquired on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, either the Esteem or Love of any Body ; as likewise upon the Ac-

Expedition to Carthagena. 35

count of being Lieutenant-Governor in a Place where they never make any Stay ; so they could not be persuaded, that he had any Right to command them : However, it was necessary I should make Use of him, for want of another. I disposed of all Things for it, delivered him his Instructions, and even made most of them embark in my Presence ; yet no sooner was my Back turned, but he came running up with Tears in his Eyes, to demand Justice upon their Insolence, for pressing them to go into the Boats, that attended on them ; it was murmur'd about, that they did not know him, neither would they obey him : In short, they refused to embark ; whereupon he took one of them by the Arm, to push him into the Canoe, which the Fellow had the Impudence to return very insolently. I forthwith ordered the Delinquent to be shew'd to me, and upon the Spot I had him tied to a Tree ; a Confessor was called, a Cloth bound over his Eyes, and the Musketeers were marching to do Justice on him ; when *Daunou*, whom 'twas very necessary for me to reconcile to the *Buccaniers*, having before-hand instructed him what to do, threw himself at my Feet, protesting, he would not rise until I had bestowed Mercy on the unfortunate Offender. I seemed to be very difficult upon the Account of good Order ; but at Length, at the pressing Desires of the Company, I gave him his Life. And much Trouble there was to revive the Condemned, who could not believe that it was possible for him to be alive again, after the Ceremony of binding his Eyes.

Being desirous to put an End to this Affair, I went to the nearest Vessel, where Captain *Pierre* was embarked ; who was (as I was inform'd) the first Beginner of the Mutiny ; but, in the Time of bringing the Fellow to Execution, he had consider'd the Matter, and was marched on Board with his

36 *Monsieur Du Pointis's*

Buccaniers ; I commanded him to be immediately dragged out, and put into my Canoe, and ordered him to prepare to die : But there appearing from the rest of the Company many Signs of Submission, and Acclamations of, *God save the King*, I at last resolved to forgive the Offence ; yet withal threatening to decimate them, upon the least Complaint that *Daunou* should make of their Misbehaviour.

This Usage, so different from the Cajolements they had been accustomed to receive, from those that made Use of them, did me very good Service, during the whole Time they were under me, so as to make 'em tolerably obedient to *Daunou* ; yet not exposing themselves to the Danger of Fire and Sword: For having without Trouble possessed themselves of *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, that was utterly abandon'd by the Enemy ; and believing that upon their Approach to the little Fort of *St. Lazare*, between *La Pouppe* and *Carthagena*, they might frighten the Garrison to retire from them also, he propos'd this Attempt to them ; but it was to no Purpose : And in a Council where he did not preside, they resolved to attend my Coming, encamped in the Wood, at the Foot of the Fort, where they got about thirty Hours before me.

On the Seventeenth, all the Ships being drawn into Order, at the Entrance into the Lake, they passed it in the Morning of the Eighteenth. The *Diep* Flyboat touched ; the great many Banks of Sand in the Lake, which our Pilots did not know, was the Occasion we did not advance very much that Day : The *Apollo* ran a-ground this Day ; but these Banks being only Sand and Ouse, mingled with a very fine Turf, there was no fear of Danger.

In the mean Time, being sure of having the Ships suddenly follow me, we began our March by Break of Day ; and for Security against all Hazards, took two Days Provision with us for the Forces,

Expedition to Carthagena. 37

ces, which was dignified with the Title of the Land Army : This, after the Departure of the six hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*, that were gone to the other Side, and the Garrison of one hundred and seventy Men remaining behind us in the Fort of *Bocca chica*, might consist of about one thousand seven hundred Men, not including some Seamen, one hundred and ten Inhabitants of *St. Domingo* formed in Companies, fifteen or twenty Volunteers, that followed *Du Casse*, and one hundred and eighty Negroes.

I was obliged to defer making Use of my Seamen, until the Ships were arrived, and had taken their Stations : The Smallness of our Forces was no Discouragement to us. The Marines especially, being highly pleased with the Execution of a Business, in which they had never before been employed, did apply themselves with all imaginable Diligence and Good-will, every one of them chearfully undertaking whatsoever was appointed to him.

After we had crossed the Mountains covered with Woods, which the Negroes examined before us, we met with the Plain, that is here and there covered with Shrub-wood, and at Noon came to an old ruined Castle, within half a Mile of *St. Croix* : Here we rested the Troops ; and besides the Pits, that are there easily made in the Sand, and afford indifferent good Water, we had the good Fortune to find a great Cistern that was a mighty Conveniency to us. After this Refreshment, the Viscount *de Coetlogon*, whose Day it was, marched on with a Part of the Grenadiers, to observe how we might encamp as near as possible to the Fort, and to seize upon the Passages that are in those Marshes, that encompass the Fort ; in the mean Time we continued our March, not being able to leave the Shore, because the Lake approaching in divers Places within a few Paces of the Sea, permits

mits you the Choice of that Way only, until we came down from the Mountains, below which the Island is pretty spacious. This Way having brought us within Cannon-shot of the Bastion of *Cartbagena*, called *St. Domingo*, we struck short off to the Right, by a Way that the Marsh leaves cross the low Woods, called *Maugliers*, that grow in the Water.

In this Place I was informed by the Officers that *Coetlogon* sent me, that he was at the Foot of *St. Croix*, which the Enemy had abandoned, having carried off their Cannon, and set Fire to the Lodgements that were there; likewise that some Part of the Forces might encamp upon a Spot of Ground about the Fort, but that the rest must be left in the Way worn near the Fort by a Rill of Water running from the neighbouring Marshes; that the Bottom was good, and the Water not above Knee-deep, which would no way prevent a Communication.

Levy, the Major-General, and myself, with some Grenadiers, were in the mean Time so near advanced to *Cartbagena*, as easily to observe, that the Place could not be attacked on one Side, the Marshes and Sea not leaving there a Sandy Space of about twenty Fathom over, which was exposed to the Fire of three Bastions; besides, there was no sinking two Foot Deep, without being in Water. The great Number of People that we saw on the Ramparts, who quietly looked on us, made me desirous to summon them; the Governor was there, and answered my Drum, that he was ready to defend himself better than we could attack him.

We could not exactly discern the Foot of the Rampart; and being desirous to know, if there was a Ditch, I ordered *De Bresme*, whose Battalion was encamped at the least Distance from it, to examine at Night how it was; which he performed very well, and assured me, that the Water of the Marsh went up even to the Foot of the Walls, and that there

Expedition to Carthagena. 39

was only a small dry Space of Sand, that environed Part of the great Bastion called *St. Domingo*, and that on the other Side, the Sea came up to the Foot of the Bastion. This Report made us conclude, not to attack *Carthagena* in this Place.

The next Day, being the nineteenth, so soon as it was Day, we crossed the Lake, with much Diligence : *Pally*, that commanded the Negroes, whom I had ordered to seek out a convenient Place of Descent, having assured me, that he had found out two, which came almost up to the great Way ; I immediately passed over with *Levy*, *Sorel*, and the Grenadiers of the Battalion of *de la Chenau*, being conducted by some Prisoners, that *Pally* had taken on board of a *Pereago*, which had endeavoured to get from *Carthagena* : These Prisoners, in hopes of being better treated, had offered themselves for our Guides ; and indeed led us very nigh to the Foot of the Eminency, upon which Fort *St. Lazare* is situated. At this Place we found the *Buccaniers*, (*Dannou* had left a Detachment of 'em to guard *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*) *Coetlogon*, *La Motte Michel*, and *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had left at *St. Croix*, to bring away the rest of the Troops, as the Chaloups came to them, insomuch that we were all got together by Break of Day next Morning, leaving only a Serjeant and twenty Men in Fort *St. Croix*, with Orders to keep the Gates always shut, that and the Situation being sufficient to prevent the Enemy from repossessing themselves of it.

We had in the Evening of the nineteenth Day viewed all the Places adjacent to *St. Lazare*, and perceived, that without getting it into our Possession, it would not be possible to advance a Step towards *Carthagena*, by reason it commands all the Avenues : We beheld with much Trouble, the Time it must cost us, if we attacked it in Form, and brought our Artillery to batter it. This whole
little

little Mountain is defended with a natural Glacis, very steep, covered with Shrub-wood, which runs up to the Foot of the Wall, where we supposed was a Ditch ; the Wood being extreamly thick, and very difficult to pass, prevented us from going to it ; upon which I ordered the Chevalier *de Pointis*, to seek out two Negroes to examine the Matter ; but understanding to what Purpose I sent for them, he betook himself to the Wood, at the same Time he sent them to me, which he crossed in the best Manner he could, until he took hold of the very Wall ; the Negroes went almost as fast as he, and then came to assure me that the Ground was level to the Foot of the Fort : The Chevalier *de Pointis* quietly heard their Report, which being exactly true, he said not a Word of what he had done. In all these Occasions, there was only a Grenadier killed upon our Return.

Upon the next Day, being the twentieth, *Levy*, *Coetlogon*, and *Sorel*, having got up to an Eminency, that was above all the others, sent to me, to come to them ; from whence they shewed me, that the Fort did not take up (as we had imagined) all the Eminency, which extended a good Distance farther to the Right ; and, that if we could make a Way, through the Wood, to that Height, we might afterwards go upon a Level from thence to the Foot of the Fort, all the Way being covered with Woods ; and that we could fix a Miner to it, if the Garrison should resolve not to quit it. Upon this, I ordered the Major-General to call to Arms, and having called the Negroes to me at the Moment I came down, I put them to Work upon cutting of a Way, to facilitate the March of the Troops ; this was carried on half-way up the Hill, where dividing the Way, to encompass the Fort, *Levy* marched to the Right, *Coetlogon* to the Left, and the Major-General visited every Place as his Presence was requisite.

This

Expedition to Carthagera. 41

This Work being found shorter than what we had expected, we arrived at the foot of the Fort in a very little time, where we made the greatest Fire that was possible for us to make, at the same time calling out for the Ladders ; not that we expected to use them, but to terrify the Garrison ; however, I sent for the Miner in good earnest.

During which time, the Enemy made no great Fire, by reason we made our Shot upon them, so soon as they exposed their Bodies to view. They had for a good while perceived that we were piercing through the Wood ; and we understood, by the sounding of a Bell, how much every step we made increased their trouble. This Bell was a signal to the City, to acquaint them with their Condition ; at first it struck only now and then, keeping sounding more and more by degrees, until at length it rung full out, when their fear gave them occasion to think they would be attack'd on all sides, which had effectually happen'd, if they had not chose rather to retire, for the Quarter towards the Gate was then free to them.

In this manner we possess'd ourselves of the Fort : In the place there was only nine kill'd and wounded. On our side, the Chevalier *de Vezins* that commanded the Grenadiers, since *La Roche du Vigier* was made Governor of *Bocchica*, was kill'd, with five Grenadiers ; *Simmonet*, Colonel of a Battalion, dangerously hurt in the Head, and *St. Lazare*, Captain of Grenadiers, wounded in the Thigh.

The taking of *St. Lazare* giving us the liberty to open our selves, we cross'd the way, and advanced our Camp to the Chapel of *St. Lazare* Hospital, which is a great breadth ; being cover'd on one Side with several little Canals, that have a communication with the Lake, and on the other, by a high thick wall, which besides the Trees that

covered us, did prevent the Bastions of the City from discerning the place we possess'd ; the kill'd and wounded that we had, were only by chance Balls : In the mean time, this little Chapel gave us the opportunity of going covered within a small Musquet-shot of the place, which is not above that distance from it.

Whilst we were thus employ'd, the Ships, by the care of *Du Buiffon*, were come nearer to the Town ; insomuch that in the Morning, a Bomb-Galliot, with a Mortar, and a *Traversier*, were moor'd, and began to fire. In the Evening the *Traversier* was obliged to retire, being shot thro' with several Balls, and ready to sink ; *Bois Pinault*, Lieutenant of the Artillery, commanded her ; *De Mons* was in the Galliot, which likewise suffer'd so much, that she was obliged to retire a little ; besides she had a great many kill'd on board her ; but the Strength of these Vessels enabling them to endure a great deal of Fire, she began again in the Morning of the twenty-first of the same Month.

My chief Ingenier was wounded, and ill ; whereby I was obliged to execute that Function. The Officers of the Marines, which I had formed into Brigades, had only their own Readiness to enable them to execute every thing, which could not supply the want of Practice and Judgment. I had, by good Luck, at the first agreed with the Major-General where to begin the Opening and Advancement of the Trenches. I had, moreover, design'd the Batteries of Cannons and Mortars, and given Orders for the things necessary to the Works ; by which means, the Accident that happened to me a few Hours afterwards, did not much interrupt our Proceedings : In the mean time, all Hands were at work, the Soldiers upon Fascines and Gabions, the Sea-men upon landing the Artillery ; in the drawing of which, the Hundred and eighty Negroes were

Expedition to Carthageria. 43

were a mighty Assistance to us : For as to the *Buccaniers*, we were never able to make the least use of them ; and the share which they ought to have performed of the work, falling upon others, who were by this means over-wrought, did not a little contribute to the causing of those Distempers, which so lamentably reigned among us afterwards.

Our small number, and the great many things to be done, forced us to keep the Troops with their Arms in one hand, and their working-Tools in the other, the soldiers were at one and the same time both on the Guard, and working ; the nearness of the woods, on whose sides we were encamped, were a great conveniency to us : For when we drew out our Troops, they left their Arms upon that spot, and went to the wood with their Tools ; and upon the first Beat of Drum they quitted their Tools, and running to their Arms, were immediately in a condition of marching ; the Battalion of Grenadiers was ever at the Head of the Camp, to sustain whatsoever might be presented ; and that was sufficient, by reason the disposition of the Ground was such, that the Camp was on all parts inaccessible, but on that only towards the City.

Nor were they less diligent on board the Fleet : *Du Buisson* caused the *Scepter* to advance, commanded by *Guilotin*, the *Saint Lewis* by *Sabran*, and the *Vermandois*, aboard which he commanded ; with these Ships he made up towards the City, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* had purposely sunk a Galleon to render the Passage difficult : We were obliged to leave on board these Ships that were to fight, a great many Sea-men to work the Guns ; which diminish'd the number of those employ'd upon Disembarkment, and transporting of the Artillery that was necessary to us on shoar : It is hardly to be imagined, how so small a Parcel of our

Men was able in six Days to disembark, draw half a League upon Land, and bring into a State of Battery, twenty-seven of the greatest cannon we used, five Mortars, and all the Equipage necessary to the execution both of the one and the other, besides the Provisions that were obliged to bring to the camp; but it is true, that *Du Tilleul* being charged with this care, attended it with such application, that making use of the Seamen only at certain Intervals, he constantly kept our Magazines fill'd with Provision and Ammunition; without ever interrupting any other Business.

Our Affairs being in this State, and having moreover raised a Mortar to prevent the Enemy from going on with a work that we perceived they had began upon a Platform over the Gate: We having twice neglected to throw up a Breast-work that I had mark'd out; and fearing least at the third time there might not be something farther necessary to be done, that might occasion a Delay, I resolved to continue my Presence there until it was perfected, my Stay inconsiderately brought a great many Officers; this Number of People being moreover remarkable for their Clothes, drew upon us the Enemy's Fire, and particularly that of their cannon, with Hail-shot, by which I was wounded; my Hurt was more painful than dangerous, yet I was very fearful that this Accident might discourage our Men, which indeed was too apparent at first: Moreover I was apprehensive least the Officers, whom I had by good Fortune maintained in a perfect Union hitherto, should not continue the same, which would have been detrimental to our Design: I resolved therefore to struggle with the Pain which I felt, insomuch, that after the third Day I was carried into every part that I could have visited in another condition:

But

But during that Interval, I committed all things that I could not inspect, to the care of *Levy*, who certainly acquitted himself to a degree above all manner of Praise; indefatigable, full of Expedients and Contrivances for the Work; neglectful of his Rest and his Meals; he was every where, and forwarded every thing with an incredible Vigour.

The Viscount *de Coetlogon* was to have commanded the Artillery; but I was over-joyed to understand, that his Inclinations were rather to enter, with the rest, into the general Service; this gave me an opportunity of choosing several Persons to manage the Artillery, who did their Duty with more Expedition than would have been possible for any single Man to have done: So he had the Guard only of the Battery of five Cannons of twelve and eighteen Pounders, which he raised at the foot of Fort St. *Lazare*; in which Fort we had got mounted seven Pieces of twelve, eight, and six, that terribly shatter'd the Bastions of the place. *Mornay*, Commander of the *Pontchartrain*, was in the Fort with his Ship's Company; the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran* took upon him the care of a great Battery of nine Guns, that was likewise upon the same Eminency with the Fort, but more to the right than the first: *La Motte Michel* had the Charge of that we called, *The Royal Battery*, consisting of six pieces of thirty-six and twenty-four, planted sixty fathoms distant from the Gate; and designed to make the Breach: *Gombaud* played the Mortars, which he had been exercised in from his Youth, and doubtless never any did better execution than these; for one would have thought the Bombs had been plac'd by Hand; in the places where they were designed to fall. These Mortars were placed between the Batteries of the cannon, in such manner, that as soon as they began to play—
the.

the place was on fire in several parts at once ; the Galliot was at work on her side, but the Bombs she spent the first Days were of little or no effect.

The twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, were employ'd in transporting the Cannon, and getting together the things necessary ; the *Vermandois* only was advanced to cannonade the town ; but I being informed, that she being alone did solely bear the whole Fire of a Bastion, that could conveniently reach her, I ordered her to retire, and to wait for the other Ships that were to go on with her ; we were likewise constrained to bring away two small Cannons that we had rais'd in the chapel of St. *Lazare*, without any other parapet than the Wall, upon which the Enemy making an extraordinary Fire, rendered this Post untenable, we brought off the Cannon with the Loss of eight or ten Men.

Canette, altho' wounded, returned to the Camp this Day, being the twenty-fourth, and I continued to regulate upon my Bed with him, what was necessary to be done. In the Evening of the same Day he opened the Trench a little below the Door of the Chapel of St. *Lazare*, where we were under Cover, being the same Place I had agreed upon with the Major-General. *Levy*, whose Day it was, did not command, by reason he was intrusted with the general Management of the Siege in my stead : *Coellogon* mounted the Guard in the trench, which was advanced the same Night seventy-two fathoms, being as far as was necessary to attack the City Gate, when the Breach should be perfectly made. The following Days the Captains took their Turns according to their Places, and mounted every twenty-four Hours ; the Batteries were likewise brought into a condition for Service, and on the twenty-eighth
began

Expedition to Carthagena. 47

began to play, our Fire until then being only from some little Pieces that were mounted in haste. The Enemies Fire, which had always been very moderate, grew now something slower; for the Bombs and the Cannon of the Fort and the Hill, had dismounted several of their Pieces; yet they troubled us less with their Sallies, for they did not so much as attempt to make one in the whole Siege.

At this time, a Bark sent from *Porto Bello*, by the General of the Galleons, to the Governor of *Carthagena*, not knowing what pass'd in this place, came quietly into *Bocachica*, and fell into the Hands of the *Avenant*, and *Marin*, that I had left there, who took her with their Canoes: The Letters on board her, were in Answer to those the Governor of *Carthagena* had sent to the General, informing him, that the *French Fleet* was upon the Coast; they contained a particular of the Precautions that were us'd to secure the Galleons, viz. By bringing them to the very lower End of the Port, and defending the Approach to them by an Estocade of Piles, and Platforms of Cannon: They added farther, that Part of the Silver which they had, was already brought into the Castles; for they had suspended their Resolution of sending it back to *Panama*, until they had received some farther Informations of our Designs; which the General pressed the Governor to send him immediately, either by the said Bark, or a second, that was to come away in four and twenty Hours after the first: But what acquainted us with the miserable Condition they were in, was the earnest Desires of the General, in the most pressing terms, to send him fifty Pullets, and some Quintals of white Biscuit.

Altho' the batteries, as I said, were not in a condition to fire, until the twenty-eighth, yet that de-
signed

signed to make the Breach, was play'd so successfully, by *La Motte, Michel, Siglas, Longjume* and some other Officers under him, assisted by the Gunner of the *Scepter*, that on the twenty-ninth in the Morning, the Wall seemed to totter; our Fire had not been discontinued because of the Night, but it increas'd so much in the Day, that in the Evening the Front of the Rampart being quite fallen down, *Levy* and *Sorel*, who would lose no Time, imagin'd the Breach was passable, and came to propose the Assault to me. I was resolv'd neither to lose, nor neglect a Minute; but likewise determin'd not to hazard any thing upon ill Grounds: I order'd to Arms, and dispos'd all things for an Assault; yet resolv'd not to engage before I judg'd it feasible: In short, Night being come, whilst we prepar'd our selves, the *Chevalier de Pointis* passing up to the Artin-pits in Water, over the little Marsh upon which the Causey, and the Bridge, that communicates with the City, are built, went to view the Breach. He assur'd me, that the wall was intreed very much ruin'd; but that it was not possible, as yet, to mount it without Ladders.

The *Chevalier de Ferriere*, Captain of a Fire-ship, who was at the Head of the Brigade of Ingenieurs, that I had sent to observe the condition of the wooden Bridge, (which the Enemy had endeavour'd to blow up, by ranning under a *Peregrin* fill'd with Powder) brought me word, that the Bridge had suffer'd; yet might not be altogether unserviceable to us: And that the Gate beyond it which we imagin'd was beat down by the cannon, was strongly terrass'd on the inside; of this he was positively certain, by reason he had put his Hand into the Holes which the Cannon had made, and therefore there was no Hopes of carrying the place by that; but that the Breach must be pass'd, to the

Expedition to Carthagena. 49

foot of which he could not get from the place where he was ; and that he was, by all that he could perceive in the Night, but little advanced.

These two Officers were too well known, to doubt of their having been where they said they were : Moreover, *Canette* told me he was not quite ready ; that all the Gabions and Fascines which he had got together, were spent ; and, that if by chance we should find so much resistance as to be obliged to lodge upon the Breach, we should not be able to do it, our Earth-sacks being at the Lake-side, for want of Hands to bring them ; that there were two little Flanks unruined, that would destroy a great many Men in the Attack ; all these Reasons engaged me to dismiss the Troops from their Duty, and we agreed not to make the Assault until the first of the next Month ; in the mean time, to employ both Night and Day in the finishing of the Breach, and to get together all such things as would be necessary upon that occasion.

Upon the twenty-ninth *DuBuisson* being advanc'd with the three Ships, *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, and *Vermandois*, within a small Cannon-shot of the City, they fired upon it with all their Artillery ; but seeing it only reached the tops of the Houses, and my Business being to have two Bastions silenc'd that annoy'd my Camp, I sent to let them know, That when they were retired in the Evening, they should wait new Orders before they begun again.

In the mean time, we prepar'd our selves for the Business of the next Day ; the Order of Attack I had regulated with the Major-General, in this manner :

A Serjeant, with ten Grenadiers, should begin, sustained by the Company of Grenadiers on Guard, there being always one at the Head of the Trench ; the whole Body of Grenadiers were likewise to ad-

H

vance

vance to the Head of it, to sustain the first, and to preceed a Battalion, in whose Rear should be *Cannette*, the *Chevalier de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, *Courfy*, and one hundred and fifty Workmen, with the Sub-Ingeniers, and all necessary Implements; after whom should follow the same number of *Buccaniers* and Negroes. The Head of the Trench was twenty Fathom distant from the little Ravelin, that in some sort covers the Bridge, whose Wall was so low, that it might have been pass'd, if it had not been easier to pass through a single Barrier that was there, and these Troops fill'd all the Trench, unto the Gate of the Chapel: All the rest of the Battalions were posted according to their Ranks, within the Close of the Hospital, to march into the Trench as fast as the first Troops avanc'd out of it, to the Attack, and to follow 'em up, and sustain them. I recommended to Major *Thesut*, in particular, the good order which these Battalions were to observe to the end, that too much Precipitation might not cause Confusion in their March, nor too much Slowness occasion as much Inconveniency by any Interval being left open.

All Things were thus regulated for the next Day, when *Du Casse*, whose Day it was, came to tell me, about three o' Clock, that he saw the Breach from the head of the Trench, plainly enough to assure me that it was passable; that he believed the Enemies were at Work behind, in throwing up a Retrenchment. A Delay in this Case would have been so very inconvenient to me, by reason of the time I should have given the Enemies, to finish their Work, that I forthwith resolved to attack the Enemies at that instant, provided I found the Breach to be as it was described to me. I was the more inclined to believe it, by being inform'd by all Hands, in the Morning, with the good Effects of the *Royal Battery*,
which

Expedition to Carthagena. 51

which at every Discharge brought prodigious Ruins from the Wall ; and, at the worst, I could not be more asham'd in retiring, if Things should not appear in the Condition reported, than I had been the Night before.

I immediately sent for *Levy*, the Major-General, *Canette* and some other Officers, that were gone to *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, to discover from that Place the Condition of the Town ; but hearing a general Alarm beaten, they presently returned ; and being informed what was to be done, every one of them ran to give the necessary Orders to what belonged to him. The Troops at work in the Woods, being called by the Drums, instantly came to their Arms, and put themselves into order ; there was only a small Body in the Trench, that were not exactly placed where they were to be ; but the Major-General disposed of them with all Expedition : At which time *Nesmond*, *Poullermont*, *La Lind*, *Du Cbe* and *Rochebonne*, who (as I said before) chose rather to serve as my *Aids de Camps*, than to be employed in any other Service, not knowing but that the Troops were in perfect order came to acquaint me that every thing was ready, and that they waited for my Orders to march : I gave it, imagining like the rest, that all the Wall was fallen.

The Order was immediately carried by my *Aids de Camp* ; who having all undertaken to deliver it, took that occasion to run to the head of the Trench, *De Tilleul* only, that could not be any where else, was with me ; *Du Casse* was on his Day in the Trench ; but *Levy* being the eldest of all, and this Action being regarded as a general Affair, by reason all were employed in it, put himself at the Head and gave the Motion to the Troops to begin, at the moment he received the Order ; which was

as suddenly executed, as it was speedily carried.

What ought to have been a great Advantage, had like to have caus'd a great Inconveniency ; the Officers, notwithstanding the Remonstrances that had been made them, upon the necessity of each of them being at his Post, to see the Troops perform their Duty ; carried on by their Courage, the greatest part of them advanced before the Troops, and assaulted the Breach with Sword in Hand, without observing how they were followed ; and the Troops unprovided of Leaders, did indeed march on, but slower than the safety of their Officers required, who remained for a considerable time exposed upon the Breach which they had gain'd. We were all deceived in our Reckoning, for it was the steepest Way imaginable : The Grenadiers who were order'd not to fire, could not abstain from it, when they came to be exposed out of the Trench, and to suffer the Fire of the Ramparts ; but the Time they employ'd to re-charge, detaining them in the way between the Trench and the Breach, was the Reason of their Officers being alone at the Top : *Lewy* repaired the Inconveniency of this Accident so soon as it was possible, by hastening on the Troops, as likewise by his Words and his Actions. In the mean time, the *Chevalier de Pointis*, who had first mounted, was in an Instant joined by *Gougon*, *Jaucourt*, and *Marolles*, whose Battalion was on the Trench Guard ; *Daye*, *Vignancourt*, *Montrasier*, *Du Rollin*, *Van-joux*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Fouilleuse*, and my *Aids de camp* ; They endeavoured to maintain themselves, notwithstanding all the Efforts of the Enemy, who were attacked at the time they least expected it ; yet not being dismayed, they attempted to drive us off with Sword and Pike. *Marolles* and *Du Roullon*, were already mortally wounded ; and upon the Ground ; *Fouilleuse* had his Leg broke,

Gougon,

Expedition to Carthage. 53

Gauger, Montrosier, young Marallet, Marigny, Daye, and Moussac, were all wounded; some shot, others hurt with Pikes; some of them had several Wounds, as *Montrosier*, and *Vanjou*; when at length *Leroy*, and the Grenadiers came to their Assistance, and repuls'd the Enemy; who rallying nevertheless at the End of the Streets, were several times charged before they could be driven off. *Du Cassé* not so nimble as the rest, altho' the first at the foot of the Bridge, maugre all his Good-will, had so much trouble to climb it, that he was out of Breath by that time he got to the top, where he thought he should never recover his Wind. He was followed by fifteen or twenty Volunteers, Inhabitants of the Coast, who did very good Service; for firing upon such of the Enemies as were yet upon the Ramparts, behind two little Flankers that fired upon the Bridge, and very much annoy'd our Troops; they at length obliged them to follow those that were driven from the Platform, where the Breach ended; the Major-General, who at the Bottom of the Breach was wounded by a Musquet-Ball in the Neck, followed by *Baraudin*, one of his Aids, and *Frankin*, Captain of the Grenadiers, with his Arm broken, notwithstanding mounted the Breach together; but the Captain's Strength failing, so soon as he was up, he was forc'd to be brought off, for the same Reason the Major-General was not able to make a longer Stay.

All the Troops defiling in the mean time one from another, I found myself at last rid of all Uneasiness for the Success of an Action, that may, with Modesty, be term'd very bold, and very extraordinary for Seafaring Men.

A Party of the Negroes of *Pally*, who conducted them, in defiling off to the Ramparts on the left, pushed the Enemy from Bastion to Bastion, until
the

54 *Monfieur De Pointis's*

the Causey that divides this part of the City, particularly called *Hibimani*, from the other call'd by the general Name of *Cartbagena*; but the *Buccaniers* to exempt themselves from the Attack of the Breach, had consulted the matter upon the Bridge, and the little Causeway of *Hibimani*, and resolved to line the Hedge over-against the Ramparts, where they made an extraordinary Fire, not perceiving the Part they chose out of Fear, was more dangerous than that they endeavoured to avoid: But by good Fortune for them, the Enemy was driven off from those Ramparts, and those *Indian* Heroes adventured to enter when they thought the Business was pretty well at an End; yet they were a little mistaken in this Account: For the Enemy after having stood firm at all the Corners of the Streets were at length driven to the Causey of *Hibimani* towards *Cartbagena*, into which they designed to retreat; but the Governor (who perhaps feared that upon opening the Gates we might enter Pell-mell with his People) plainly told them that he would not let them in, until they had attack'd us in *Hibimani*: So after the Loss of about 800 men, urged by Necessity, and possibly the Wine they had drunk infusing fresh Courage into them, they got together in a Croud, and with a great Cry came and charged us at the Head of the great Street which ends at the Causey: We had just began to cast up a Retrenchment there, and the Troops not having time to bring themselves into Order, surprized with this Attack, moved a little backwards, to cover themselves with the Houses of the Streets which cross'd that: But while *Levy* and the Officers brought them into Order, which was instantly done, *Vignancourt*, the Chevalier *de Pointis*, *Gougou*, and *Faucourt*, with a small Number of Grenadiers, sustained this impetuous

ous Attack ; but the Troops being brought back to the Charge, made a very great Slaughter of the Enemies ; above one hundred and fifty were found the next Day upon the Causey, pierced with Bayonets, besides those that went off wounded : In this Charge the Viscount *de Coetlogon* was wounded with a Musket Ball in his Shoulder, who was come hither from the Battery, accompanied by *De la Motte Michel*, and *De la Motte d'Heran* ; his Wound did not at first appear to be considerable, but by weakening of him it contributed to his Death, caused by a malignant Fever ; and here the *Chevalier de Pointis*, after having pass'd through so many Dangers to which he exposed himself, received the wound he died of ; the Marquis *De Boury* was at this time likewise hurt in his Face, *St. Amant* on the Side, and many other Officers received contusions.

The Enemy being drove back again, were received by a little Port into *Carthagena* ; we applied ourselves in *Hibimani* to making of Retrenchments at all the Avenues, to secure us from Surprizes, and to permit our troops to pass the Night quietly, in the convenient Lodgings of a handsome city ; the Fire of the Enemies Cannon killed some Men in this work, that were commanded by the *Chevalier de la Ferriere, du Crest*, and *Coursy*, under the direction of *Canette* ; about ten at Night all was in good Order.

In this Action I lost about sixty Men, and had more than that Number wounded, without comprehending the Officers beforementioned.

It was resolved to rest the troops the next Day being the first of *May*, and to work only upon the opening of the Gate, and repairing of the Bridge for the passage of the great cannon, with
which

which we designed to beat down the Rampart we had to pass, before we could enter into the other part of the city. *Canette* went in the Morning early to view the Places of Battery that were to be rais'd, and having shewed them to me in the Evening, I found them so near the wall, that I did not doubt making a very considerable Breach in a very little time; this whole causey, and that part of the Marsh which divides *Carthagena*, are not a Musket-shot over.

This Day I sent on board the *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, and the *Vermandois*, a part of the Detachment of Seamen, call'd Scythemen, by reason of the small Scythes fix'd upon Staves which they had for their Arms; I ordered these Ships to endeavour again the next Day to ruin the Defences of a Bastion that could hurt us more than the others. About three o' clock on the Second, they began to cannonade; in the mean time we put all things into a readiness, towards the bringing of the great cannon into *Hibimani*; this cannonading continued until Six; when at the Sight of four white Flags flying, two on *Hibimani* Side, and the others towards the Sea, I ordered the Ships to forbear firing until I knew the Intentions of the Besieged. They told *Du Cassé*, who by the means of a little *Spanish* run himself into all things, that they were willing to capitulate upon honourable terms. I sent them word, that before I entered upon it, I expected Hostages that very Moment, without giving any other Assurance than my Parole, to return them the next Day, in case we did not agree upon terms. This hard condition was accepted; which plainly shewed me that the Enemies were straitened. In short, the Precedent of *Hibimani* terrified them, and the Bombs permitted them no manner of rest; so they brought me two of the most

Expedition to Carthagena. 57

most considerable Men amongst them. At this instant I received Advice from two Places of 1000, or 1200 Men being upon their March to throw themselves into *Carthagena*: An *Indian* was the first that brought me this Account; which was afterwards confirmed to me by a Letter from a Lieutenant at *Boracabica*; who seeking for fresh Provisions in the Country, had been besieged in one of the Houses of Don *Sanchez Jimenez*, defended by his People against a small Detachment of that Body on their March. That he had been among the Troops; who knowing that we possess'd the common Highway, did design to go round the great Lake, and passing afterwards through Byways into the little Lakes that lie about *Carthagena*, to go on along the Sea-side, and get into the City by the Bastions of St. *Catherine*. I immediately ordered ashore all the Scythmen, and Seamen that could possibly be spared, who were also provided with Arms; these were set to guard the Batteries, for all the Artillery was as yet there. I detach'd *Du Casse* with 500 *Buccaniers*, and a Battalion of 300 Soldiers, to stop the Passage of these Succours; he posted himself amongst the little Lakes where the Enemies would be obliged to come; and the Advantage of the Place wherein he was posted, enabled him to have given a very good Account of them. The next Day I sent *Daunou* with a less Number, being informed it would be sufficient to repel the Succours, in case it should be attempted; but they did not appear, neither did I ever know the Reasons of it.

In the mean time we were employed upon the Capitulation. *Du Casse*, ever an importunate Advocate for the *Spaniards*, continually tormentt me, to mitigate the Conditions I impos'd upon them;

them : But being not only charged with the Support of the Honour due to his Majesty's Arms, but having likewise my Undertakers Interest to marriage, I stood firm to my Demands, altho' an infinite Number of Reasons might have occasioned me to be more impatient than any Body else, to have this Affair determined. At length I proposed to the Governor, the honourable Articles of passing out through the Breach, with all those carrying Arms, Drums beating, to take four Pieces of Cannon; and as to the rest, it was agreed, that all the Silver without Exception, or Reserve, in Favour of whomsoever it might be, should belong to me, that the Effects of all such as went out, or were absent, of whatsoever Nature the said Effects were, should devolve to me; that such of the Inhabitants as would continue in the Place, excepting their Plate should enjoy all their Possessions and Privileges, and for the future be regarded as the King's Subjects, being they were so by Conquest : And farther, that all the Churches and Convents should be preserved.

This Matter agreed on, I demanded until such Time as the Governor march'd out, which could not be in some Days, that they should deliver me up the Gates, which they did, and I ordered the Grenadiers to it. I had regulated what every Man, according to his Condition was to carry out with him in Silver for their Subsistence; to which, that I might not be imposed upon, I had added this Condition, that I reserved to my self the Liberty of searching the Men and Baggage at the Gate. The Governor sent to desire I would permit, out of Courtesie, (which was the Expression) the principal Officers, and some other considerable Persons that I permitted to follow him, the double of what was stipulated. This amounted unto 2000
Crowns

Expedition to Carthagena. 59

Crowns a Head ; but these being a small Number, acquiesced to it, and was convinc'd by the Fervency of their Acknowledgments, that it was really necessary to them.

It was of great Consequence to me, that those who were allow'd to retire where they pleas'd, after the Garrison was march'd out, should remain until they were obliged to reveal what Sums they had in their Houses ; therefore I was very exact in my Measures, that no Body might escape : In the mean time several Officers went freely up and down the City ; and *Du Casse*, whom I had declared Governor, that they might believe I designed to keep the City, took upon him to deliver to some People Certificates, that were not Pass-ports, yet had some Resemblance to them, by which those People passed the Gates, the Officers of the Guard believing it was my Order. I do believe he had no ill Intention in it, and I did attribute that Manner of acting to the Kindness he ever affected to shew to the *Spaniards* ; yet common Report did not forbear saying, that he got considerable Sums ; which I did not believe. However, I would not have it thought, that I tolerated his Conduct ; therefore I forbid him the Continuance of it : And this Order so much displeas'd him, that he never came afterwards to me.

The Governor delay'd his Departure all that he could ; but at length I acquainted him, That he must positively march out upon the Sixth, and that on the same Day I would enter at the Head of the Troops, which was accordingly executed. The Count *Ugnez de los Rois*, follow'd with his Garrison, being list'd Men, to the Number of about 2800, march'd out through a Lane of our Soldiers and Seamen, (whom I had order'd on Shoar to enlarge our Number) *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants of the

Coast, and Negroes. We two were upon our Horses, and having saluted me with his Sword, after some Expressions of Civility, he continued his Way with the City Colours, and two of the four Cannon allowed him, not having Equipage convenient for exporting of the others ; even these were the smallest, and drawn by Men.

These People were narrowly search'd as they came out ; but when I was informed of their Number, which was almost equal to ours ; and perceiving that this Search would bring the Night upon us, before we could dispatch them, I was afraid lest the Danger of losing a little Money should occasion some Disorder when it was dark ; so I sent my Orders to the Gates to hasten their March, without delaying of it by a Search, which produced little ; and the Garrison all marched out before Sun-set. It was not without a great deal of Trouble that I continued upon my Horse, to receive the Salute of the Governor ; but that being pass'd, I was oblig'd through the great Pain of my Wound, to get into my Chair, wherein I was used to be carried ; in this Condition, and in the midst of the Guards Marine, who were cloathed alike, I went (preceded by a Battalion of Grenadiers) to take Possession of the City.

I was well assured there was Silver in *Cartbagena* ; but the Difficulty was how to get it : The worst that could happen to those in Possession of it, was the Loss of it, when we had discover'd it ; it was therefore necessary to search all the Houses : But by whom could it be done ? With what Surety that the best Part should remain undiscover'd ? The Number of Officers was not great enough, to disperse them into all the necessary Places ; and if I would not have left any Thing, it must have required me above six Months Time. In this Perplexity I be-
thought myself of this Expedient : I publicly de-
clar'd

Expedition to Carthageria, 61

clar'd and order'd it to be set up in the principal Places, That I would give the Tenth to the Proprietors, of whatsoever they honestly brought me; and a Tenth to them that should inform me, of any Persons that did not declare their Effects. To these Promises I join'd my Threats of punishing them for formal Disobedience.

The Hopes of preserving a Part of what was otherwise all in Danger to be lost; the Fear of Neighbours, and ill Friends, who at the same time had the Opportunity of profiting and being troublesome, induc'd them all to be ingenuous in the Matter; which was done with so much Forwardness, that *Tilleul*, who was charg'd with the Treasure, was not able to weigh the Silver fast enough.

The Convents only were of the Opinion, that they were exempted from this Search, under the Article of the Capitulation, that they should be preserv'd; by this Means they quietly kept both their own Money, and what was trusted to them. I order'd that Article to be explain'd to them, to the End that they might know, that the Preservation of the Convents, consisted in not permitting them to be destroy'd; but as to the Money, I had in formal Terms, reserv'd that to myself; otherwise they might have got together all the Riches of the City into their Houses, to have depriv'd me of it. Notwithstanding these Reasons, several of them continued so obstinate, and among the rest, Father *Grenelli* a Jesuit, the Guardian and Procurator of *Cordileers*: that I was forced to have them secured, and to threaten them with worse Usage. The Rector of the Jesuits obey'd, and brought about twenty thousand Crowns in Gold, that he found in the Chamber of Father *Grenelli*, and about as much for the whole House besides; and then desired that I would order the House to be every-where visited,

by

by which Conduct he engaged me to release his Religious. So soon as the *Cordeliers* perceived that the *Buccaniers* were brought, who have a particular Talent at discovering hidden Treasures, they protested, they were ready to reveal all they had, so the *Buccaniers* retired ; but when they were gone, the Reverend Fathers fell into their first Silence : In short, I resolv'd to charge the Captains with the care of searching the religious Houses, to the End that their Presence might preserve all necessary Order and Reservedness. This Search produced enough to make Satisfaction for the Trouble it gave us ; and in Regard to the Churches, prevented even the Appearance of the Profanation. After I had severely commanded them not to touch any of the sacred Vessels, or any thing appertaining to the Sacrifice, I order'd our Chaplains to gather up what was only for the Decoration of the Churches. Father *Paul a Domini.an*, who hath (by I know not what Authority) given himself a sort of a Mission among the *Buccaniers* ; and usually living upon the Coast had followed the Army, had put himself among our Chaplains ; aided with a mighty Zeal to execute his Orders, which seem'd to him sufficiently just, in relation to other Convents , but when he was to go to the *Dominicians*, supported with the credit of *Du Casse*, he thought to have prevented this Visit ; but seeing there was no great Notice taken first of his threats, nor afterwards of his Prayers, was then transported with Horrour at the Profanation, and came running to pronounce upon me, from God Almighty, the Anger of Heaven ; yet they did not forbear going on with the Business.

Altho' the Silver was brought in great abundance to the Contadore, that is, the Town-house, where I had my Quarters, yet we did not receive, by
much

Expedition to Carthagena. 63

much, what we might have expected. We had scarce got to the Coast of *St. Martha*, which I had been told was a Desert, but they were acquainted with it at *Carthagena*; and being likewise inform'd by three several Expresses from the King of *Spain*, of all Particulars, they were amply acquainted with my Project, my Forces, and, in a manner, the Time I should get thither; so they begun to stir themselves upon that very Alarm. All the Women of any Quality, with their Jewels, the Nuns, and what was worst of all, 110 Mules laden with Gold, went out in four Days time; they retired to *Monpos*, a Town forty Leagues from thence; and although we had not miscarried in our first Descent to attempt *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, yet we could not have got thither until the greatest Part of those Treasures was gone. However, the Honour which his Majesty's Arms acquired in this occasion, besides near upon eight or nine Millions that could not escape us, comforted us for the Loss of the rest.

There is, in the Year, one intemperate Season, that never misses this Part of the *Indian* Coast, and it seemed, as if the great Rains, and Thunder, which are the Forerunners of it, had for a time desisted, to afford us the Opportunity of taking *Carthagena*; for no sooner were we in possession of it, but the Air immediately became infected: Eight hundred Men, in six Days time, were seized with a contagious Distemper, of whom the greatest Part died; and in a little time we were scarce able to receive into the Hospital, which was with much Expedition established, the great number that was brought from all Parts; every Day we were informed of some melancholy Example; all Ideas of Triumphs and Treasures, were effaced by those of Sicknefs and Mortality. In short, if the Distemper had continued with this Rigour, I must have

64 Monsieur De Pointi's

have beheld my inevitable Ruin in the fairest Port of the world, and no Enemy near me ; not only have lost the fruits of all our Labours, but likewise the Squadron entrusted to me.

There was a Report spread about, the Author of it I did not find out until some Days afterwards, that I could not carry back the King's Ships without making use of the *Buccaniers* ; who being accustomed to these Climates, were no more infected with the Unhealthiness of the Air, than the Natives that are very rarely touch'd with it. In this Condition *Du Casse*, that concealed his spite at *Hibbmani*, where he was retired, sent to me by his Major a Writing, insinuating, that his Colony was in danger of being destroyed, in case the Enemies should attempt a Descent there, which was no ways to be doubted ; that he demanded of me the Forces I had drawn from thence ; and in case of Refusal, he thereby made me responsible for all Accidents. I answered by the same way, that his Colony was as much recommended to me, as it had been to him : that concurring to his Sentiments as to that matter, I did consent, whatsoever Inconveniency might attend the weakening of myself by his Departure, that he might return with three parts of his *Buccaniers*, all the Inhabitants, and part of the Negroes ; and that what I kept with me would therefore be too inconsiderable for the Coast to suffer by it. This Answer, which I designed with Sincerity, happened to be contrary to what he expected ; he did not imagine I could have taken that Resolution, thinking, by the Report spread about, to have made me so well comprehend the occasion I should have for the *Buccaniers*, as to have determined myself against their return ; but seeing my firmness, he began to be more compliant, and better disposed, without speaking of going away : and thereby plainly showed

Expedition to Carthage. 65

shewed us, what sort of Interest detained him at *Carthage*. As the Silver was brought in, so it was immediately carried on Board the King's Ships; upon which he employ'd *Daunou* to acquaint me, that the *Buccaniers* were disgusted, that I did not call some of them to be witnesses of what passed at the *Contadore*; and proposed to have me admit some Body from them. I found so much Insolence in this Proposition, that I suspected from whence it proceeded: I told *Daunou*, that if he happened to charge himself with any more such Commissions, I would make him repent it. I was at that instant informed, that some of the *Buccaniers*, contrary to my Prohibition of pillaging Houses, had broke through the Roof of a House, and stole some Merchandizes: I took my Guards, and went through all the Quarters of the City, resolved to make an Example of those who fell into my Hands; but they were all retired to the Posts assigned them, where they received all the Threats I made them with a most profound Submission: Moreover, I was not so ill served by my Spies, as not to be informed, that the seditious Discourses they sometimes held, upon the Silver being carried on Board the King's Ships, was inspired into them, by People wholly abandoned to their own Interest, who took all Opportunities to express their own Thoughts with the Tongues of the *Buccaniers*.

I was not so much a Stranger to the *Buccaniers* Courage, as to apprehend any manner of Attempt from that part; but a Rumour being underhand whisper'd, that they had a mind to pillage the *Contadore*, to secure the share they pretended to of the Booty; I was apprehensive, lest they might force me to punish them so, that I should not be able to expect any farther Service from them, and I might possibly have occasion for their
K
assistance

assistance on Board the King's Ships, in my return to *France*. Upon this I proceeded upon a Method which seemed most likely to satisfy them, without engaging me to an unbecoming Condescension: I liberally recompensed such of the *Buccaniers* as were wounded, and gave more to the lam'd; there being so few of the one, or the other, that I could not thereby much prejudice the Interests of the Armament; I ordered very considerable Gratifications to their Captains, and some others that had distinguished themselves; I thought by the kindness I shewed to *Du Casse*, and his Adherents, which were so excessive, that I am ashamed to own it; I thought, I say, to have engaged them to have made no farther Pretensions; but I was surpriz'd to find, that by his Calculation of the eight Millions, he reckoned two of them belong'd to the *Buccaniers*; and of these two Millions, he esteem'd himself sure of one; for he shares with them as Captain General, as first Captain of each Frigate, as Proprietor of the Frigats of which he lends some to them, and lets them have others belonging to the King, which with divers Pretexs he detains upon the Coasts, at exorbitant Interest. When I was made acquainted with the Particulars, I resolved with my Authority and Diligence to extricate myself out of this Affair: but this Diligence was the difficult matter, a great part of the Equipage necessary in a Siege, which we had brought from the Fleet, was yet ashore, the Distempers deprived me of half my Men, and I had scarce got on board half of the Silver. The Brass Cannons of *Carthage-na* were yet on the Ramparts; I entreated the *Buccaniers* to undertake this Work, which they refus'd, and I was informed they had not only resolved not to work, but neither to make Watch or Ward until they were put into possession of their Share of the Booty: I shew'd no Concern at this time, but pre-
vailing

vailing by dint of Money upon the small number I had in a condition of working, to use their utmost Efforts, I got on board my Squadron all the Cannon of *Carthagena*, all that remained of what was brought on Shore; and part of the Bastions being already thrown down, on the 25th of *May* the Powder was put to the other Mines; I re-embark'd all my Troops and myself, leaving *Du Casse*, his Officers, and *Buccaniers*, in the City; I acquainted both the one and the other, that if they pillaged the least of the Houses I had mark'd, I would instantly fire their Frigates: They were too well laden to suffer them to be exposed to the Effects of my Threats, for having resolved not to bring any Merchandizes on board the King's Ships, that I might be in a better condition of Defence, I did permit the *Buccaniers* to take what belonged not to the Inhabitants that remained in the Town. *Du Casse* wrote me word that he would answer for the Obedience of the *Buccaniers*; adding withal, that if their conduct was any ways to be blamed, it proceeded from the Severity which was used to them, in not letting them know what they were to expect of the Booty. He might have said with more truth, that it was his own Inquietude; and in reality for some days past he had continually complained against the embarking of all the Silver, which he said they could not tell how to get from the King's Ships; but yet that he could not believe I would deprive him of any thing that so justly belonged to him, having engaged myself by Writing to let the *Buccaniers* divide Man for Man with the Seamen of the King's Ships. He had a great deal of Reason to insist upon this Writing, which was what I ever designed to have observ'd; but when I understood that by his calculation two of the eight Millions belonged to him, I was surprized at his Meaning, believing him informed, as every body else was, that

what appertained to the Seamen of the King's Ships, and consequently to the *Buccaniers*, whom I had received upon these express'd terms, was the Tenth of the first Million, and the thirtieth of all the others: which his Majesty had been pleased to grant to the said Men on board his Ships, to excite them to do well, and as a Retcompense for their Services, as it was explained in the conditions upon which his Majesty had consented to this Armament. At length, altho' *Du Tilleul* was Night and Day employed in the Receipt and Embarking of the Silver, and the infinite Particulars appertaining to a great Squadron, had not the time to examine his Books, and consequently we could not exactly know what Silver there was; yet I so press'd him to make an Estimate of the whole Affair, to satisfy *Du Casse*, and his Cabal, what did belong to them, that he made out the Account and signed it.

Upon the 29th I sent this Account to *Du Casse*, who, upon my reiterated Orders that I had sent him, was at last embark'd with his *Buccaniers*, and come down pretty near to the Fort of *Boccachica*; below which was the whole Squadron, except the *Scepter*, who through the Ignorance of the Pilots, was got between two Banks, upon which she had struck, and had not then got clear of them.

Du Casse was extreamly surpriz'd upon reading of the Account, wherein he saw that his, and the *Buccaniers* Share, amounted only to about 40000 Crowns. He reckon'd that the whole would have been divided into four equal Parts, and he being very near a Fourth of the Army, one of these Parts would consequently fall to his Share: But when he opened his Eyes, and saw that dividing Man for Man with the King's Ships, signified sharing what appertain'd to the said Ship's Companies, but not what appertained to the King, and the Armatures; and when it appear'd, that the Part of the
Ships,

Expedition to Carthagena.

Ships Companies consisted in the Tenth of the first Million, and the thirtieth of the others ; of which, the fourth that might belong to him, amounted only to 40000 Crowns, he fell into such a Rage, that not considering, that the leaving his Government, without a Permission from Court, and upon a particular Interest, was by all manner of Laws, a criminal Action ; yet he resolved to steer for *France* ; probably to demand Justice of himself, for being mistaken ; for as to any thing else, there cannot appear any Pretence of Complaint, I must acknowledge I was a long time before I could comprehend, that his Misapprehension should carry him so far, as to imagine, that the Credit of so many People was used, much Address employ'd, great Sums of Money collected and expended, and so long a Voyage undertaken, to give the Fourth of what it produced, to the Governor of *St. Domingo*, and a Troop of *Banditti* ; who without being at any Charge, and only for about six Weeks, at least the greatest Part of them, idle Spectators of a great Action ; methinks Justice seems so repugnant to such a Thought, that *Du Casse* cannot be excus'd entertaining it. By allowing a Subsistence, and Share, as I did to this Rabble, they received too much Honour, especially being joyn'd in the Division with the Companies of the King's Ships, whose continual Service, which they render to the King and the State, so gloriously distinguish them from that base Kind of Life that the others lead. Moreover, I do not see what Reply can be made to this Argument : If they are the King's Subjects, they are order'd to serve in this Enterprize, upon which his Majesty did not declare there should be any Distinction in Favour of them ; according to the Orders, the whole Strength of the Colony was to join the Forces I brought from *France* ; and if they did not, I was to treat them as Rebels : And I was much in the Wrong, to as-

sociate

sociate them to the Consideration that was promised to the King's faithful Subjects.

When I was getting under Sail, to come out of *Cartbagena*, I was forc'd to set on Fire the Bomb-Galliot, her Masts and Hulk were so shatter'd, that she was not in a Condition of going to Sea. I left also the *Providence* Brigantine, (of whose Company there was not one Man capable of Service) with a *Buccanier*-Captain, until farther Order. The necessity I was in, of dismounting some Ship, to afford some Assistance to others, by dividing of her Company amongst them, had engaged me to fire the *Christ* Ship, if *Du Casse*, to whom it was necessary I should give a Ship, to transport his People to the *French Cape*, had not been contented with that; which he arm'd as well as he could, to carry back the *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants, and Negroes, to *St. Domingo*.

On the 30th I was taken so very ill with the Distemper, that all that I could do, before I fell into a Condition that deprived me of my Intellect, was to acquaint *Levy*, that I committed the Care of the Squadron to him; and that he should steer his Course for *Cape Tiburon*, according to the Resolution he knew I had taken, to return thence to *France*, without touching then at *Petit Guaves*, where, as I was inform'd, the Air was not affected less than at *Cartbagena*, by which the rest of our Men would have infallibly perish'd: From that time, I order'd nothing that pass'd; but the Account that follows, *Levy*, and the Major-General, gave me in Writing, as likewise by Word of Mouth.

Upon the last of the Month of *May*, completing the Ruin of the Fort of *Bocacabica*, where we had some Days been at work, *Daunou*, after many fruitless Attempts to speak with me, went to them, and acquainted them, that the *Buccaniers* being

being enraged at the small part I gave them of the Booty, had proposed to board and plunder the *Scepter*; but that afterwards they were come to a Resolution, to return and plunder *Carthagena*: And in reality, they perceived at that Instant, the greatest part of their Frigates making into the Port, to sail to it: He said farther, that they had passed under the Stern of the *Pontchartrain*, where *Du Casse* was on board, to whom they had declared their Design; and, that he had exhorted them, not to commit such an Infraction of the Treaty upon which the City surrendered; that he had likewise sent his Major to endeavour to dissuade them from it; that for his own part, it gave him so much trouble, that he desired only a hundred Seamen, with which he should think himself strong enough to prevent their Designs on the City.

All the Squadron was out at Sea, excepting the *Scepter*, who was something nearer to them; but in such a Condition by reason of the Distemper among the Seamen, that we were very far from being able to make this Detachment; and altho' they might have been, yet how could it be possible, for a hundred Men, several Hours behind the *Buccaniers*, to prevent them from landing? The ridiculous and true Motive of this Proposition was palpably apparent; and accordingly *Levy*, and the Major General, express'd their Opinion very freely to *Daunou*, whose Passion increased upon the Contempt they shewed him. Yet *Levy*, desirous to apply all the Remedy that was to be used, made all the haste he could on Board the Frigate of *Maccary*, being nearest the Fort, and longer in getting ready than the other, and by that able to be reached, and by his Authority he made her come to an Anchor again, believing, that afterwards she would not dare but to come out with the *Scepter*; yet this Ship being got through the passage, the Frigate

of taking in more upon the Coast of *Accadia*, which was the most probable Way of meeting that Enemy, who could not be gone to expect us there, knowing we had a more convenient Passage upon many Accounts. Upon this Resolution we alter'd our Course that we were steering to *Tiburon*, for that of *Babama*, which we continued until the Sixth.

It may here be observed, how little one ought to depend upon the severest Reasons, when Fortune is in the Scale : The Course of Cape *Tiburon*, our Ruin, in appearance, was free of all Danger, the Enemy passed very wide of it ; and the way of *Babama*, so sure in our Reckoning, carried us into that between *Jamaica* and *Cartagena*, which they then steered, and occasioned us to fall into the middle of them in the Night, between the sixth and the seventh. Some Hours before Day, I was informed, that from time to time, they perceived Fires made in a Ship behind us ; this Signal not being to be made by any of ours, we began to believe, it was some advanced Frigate of the Enemies, who informed them by her Fires, that she followed us, and that by keeping after her, they could not lose us. There was then no other Resolution to be taken, than to wait for the Day ; we did not know our situation, in relation to that of the Enemies, so by any other manner of working, we should have run the same Risque, to have fallen in with them, as to have steered clear of them. The first appearance of Day presented us with the Image of an inevitable and dismal Misfortune ; we at first reckoned twenty Sail, then twenty five, a little afterwards twenty nine, and among them a Ketch. Eight of these Ships seemed to be of an equal force to the *Scepter*, ten or twelve others, with the *St. Lewis*, the *Furieux*, and our other Ships of that Rate, the rest with our Frigates from thirty six to forty four Guns ; half of this Fleet was to Windward

ward of our Squadron, and wanted but little of Cannon shot of us; some others were exactly on our Lee; and the rest, which were the great Ships before-mentioned, were in our Sterns, a little below us.

Our great Misfortune was not only to have eight and twenty Ships against our seven Ships, and three Frigates; but as an addition, our unfortunate Squadron was so strangely weakened by the Mortality, that she was rather a general Hospital for the rest of the Officers and Seamen, insomuch that when we went to put ourselves into a condition of making some sort of a resistance, by the paleness of our Faces, and the weakness of our Motion and Stirring, it look'd as if the Hospital of *Paris* was brought under Arms. To give an Idea of the Condition we were in, I need only say, that the other Ships were possibly in a much worse Condition than the *Scepter*, who out of her Complement of 700 Men, had not above 350 that were able to take Arms, or work our Artillery. What an alteration for me in particular! My Expedition had acquired some Honour to the King's Arms, and would have produced considerable Advantages to my Armatures. The taking of *Carthageria* seem'd to have acquired me a pleasing Distinction; and being enriched, I had, at my Return, a prospect of Glory and Pleasures, all which now passed like a shadow; and I had continually before my Eyes the destruction of a flourishing Squadron, which I had the Honour to be entrusted with; the Displeasure of the King and his Ministers, in the Circumstances of this Loss, which not only deprived his Majesty of so many Ships, but so much advantag'd his Enemies, and carried them those Riches, that were in a manner ready to have entered *France*; the Grief of my Armatures, for whom all was lost by this unhappy Re-encounter; and my continual

Despair in the Remainder of a Life, which after a long Imprisonment, I must have passed in Obscurity, if the Report of my bad Fortune had not rendered me remarkable.

These were my Reflections, when having acquainted all my People that we ought to die like Men of Honour, I had two occasions of being comforted; the first was, the Officers protesting to me, with an Air of Assurance, that the Ships should be defended, whilst any of them were living; and the Ships Company entered into the same Sentiment; insomuch that the sick, at least those not at Extremity, shewed themselves as forward as the others; so I beheld Resolution on all sides of me. The other was, so soon as the signal for the Order of Battle was made, the *St. Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermandois*, *St. Michael*, and the *Mutine*, came up so fast, and fell so well into their Stations, that they allowed us no occasion of doubting of their having the same Resolution with ours; the *Fort*, the *Apollo*, *L'Avenant*, and *Marin*, did not obey the signal, but kept to Windward, where they chanced to be; the Captains of the two last were sick, and I had taken from them the greatest part of their Men, to strengthen the great Ships, and had designed them for Fire-ships; but not having time to fit them up for it, nor to fetch away their sick, they were become altogether incapable of any service, so I could no ways wonder they did not fall in their ordered Station; as to the *Fort* and the *Apollo*, I was apprehensive that the first had lost so many of her Men, that she was not able to make any sort of a Fight; the other being her Second, did believe, as it is the custom, that she was not to abandon her Flag, *Du Buisson*, by the Death of the Viscount *Coclogon*, then carrying the Flag of Rear-Admiral. At this Instant one of the Enemies ships having fired a Gun
upon

Expedition to Carthageria. 77

upon the Fly-boat, called, *The City of Amsterdam*, who was a good way a-stern of us, she struck sail, and surrendered; they found a great many sick Men on board her, and a very considerable Quantity of Ammunition and Provision. The only *Traversier* left me had the same Destiny with the Fly-boat, with whom she was. But while these things pass'd, we found that half of their Fleet, who in a little time were got within reach of us, were unwilling to engage, until the others to Leeward could come to the Action; yet being unwilling to hand in their sails to stay for the others behind, they kept themselves in a Line, and permitted us to get before them. We perceived by their working that we were yet to have some Hours of Quiet, and none of us being strong enough to support a long Action, we repos'd ourselves in Expectation of the Event. About Two o' Clock in the Afternoon the Major-General came to me, and told me, there was no farther Hopes of Delays, that the advanced part of the Enemies Fleet was got within Cannon-shot, and to Windward of our Squadron, and their great Ships exact a broadside of our Lee. This being so, the Signal general for the Order of Battle was given, without Loss of Time; I added to it the particular Signal of the *Fort*, to bring her to her Station; but she only did so much as was necessary to let us know that she knew her signal, and then standing to windward, she confirm'd me in the Thoughts I had in the Morning.

The Affair was sufficiently serious to keep us attentive: We observ'd first of all, that the Ships which might have attack'd us, chose rather to slacken their way, and fell from us; with much regarding of them I was partly of the Opinion, that it was by going larger away than we who kept close to the Wind, that their great ships had gained so much

much upon us. The fear of deceiving myself in this Matter, made me consult all those that I reckoned able to inform me; and they all being of the same Opinion, I easily penetrated into the Thoughts of the *English* Admiral, who reckoned there was no safety for me, but to go before the Wind, for the Streights of *Babama*; so he proposed to get so much a-head of me, as to hinder my Passage; but I perceived at the same time that he might be mistaken in his working; because instead of sailing parallel to the Course we steer'd, his coming up opened an Angle, which in truth brought him into my Traverse, but in reality at a greater distance than when he was a-stern of us; therefore by tacking about I should be at a greater distance than I was before; besides, I was sure to get something by it.

I was certain, that the Ships which might have attack'd me, durst not do it, and therefore it would not much trouble me if I did find them in my Passage. Upon this I sent the *Marine* Frigate to order all the Ships of the Squadron to tack about precisely at the shutting in of Night; that I would light no Fires, nor make any signal, and that they should go as close haul'd to the Wind as it was possible. At the time appointed we went about, but we were too near the Enemy to conceal our working from them; one of their small Frigates being likewise got in among us, I was obliged to give him some Cannon-shot from the *Scepter*, and the *Furieux*, who was something nearer to him; with which he stood so corrected, that we saw him no more afterwards. But the different signals which the Enemies Ships made by Fires to each other, assured us, that they who were most advanced, communicated to them behind what pass'd, so we doubted not of our being followed. However, the next
Day

Expedition to Carthagenæ. 79

Day, so soon as it was light, we found the success of our working; for we could only reckon fourteen Ships, who followed us in a Line one after the other, and not so nigh by far as the Day before; but at the same time we miss'd the *Fort, Apollo, L'Avenant, Marin*, and the *Diep* Fly-boat: We having not heard any Cannon-shot, we could not think they were taken, however, it was not until the next Day that I was eas'd of this Apprehension, by Report of the *Mutine* that rejoined me, acquainting me, that when she carried the Orders for the Ships to go about, those we miss'd being considerably to windward of us, who had by much the Wind of the Enemies when we tack'd, it was much easier for them to get clear, by keeping on their Way, than in following me: *Simonet* added, that the *Fort* had lost her Fore-top-mast, but having seen all the Enemies Ships standing as we did, at a great distance from each other, there was no Reason to fear that ours were pursued.

This separation being not to be remedied, my Thoughts were wholly employed to the Preservation of the rest of the Squadron, and to make use of the advantage I had got; I continu'd the same Board, until within twenty Leagues of *Carthagenæ*, where we were on the 9th of the same Month of *June*. In the Evening I made the Signal of holding the contrary Course; and when it was quite dark, I acquainted the other Ships, with three Guns, that they were to steer West, directly before the Wind: There was then but three of the Enemies Ships that kept within sight of us, and they were a great way from us; they could not imagine what this Signal mean'd, and so kept on the same Board. In the mean while, we ran this Night 22 Leagues, and the next Day found ourselves perfectly out of all Business on that side. But to one
Trouble

Trouble ended, commonly comes another : It was not possible for us to reach *Babama*, by holding through the usual passage, that lies between *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, and which is not at all dangerous ; but we were oblig'd to take that to the Southward, terrible for the Shelves, among which we were forc'd to pass, altho' we were altogether ignorant of them ; however, supplying the want of Experience, with our utmost Care and Diligence, we escap'd all the Rocks, and having doubled the Cape of *St. Anthony*, found ourselves on the 26th in the entrance of the Streight of *Babama* ; where we understood by a small *English* Vessel, who fell into our Squadron, coming from *Jamaica*, laden with Indigo and Cotton, to the value of about 25000 Crowns, that the *English* Fleet we had met was commanded by *Nevil*, and was compos'd, at *Barbadoes*, of 13 ships that came from *England*, of three that were in the Island, and eight *Hollanders*, of which four were very large Ships, and came out of the *Streights*, who made in all 24 Men of War, to whom were belonging four Fire-ships, and a Ketch : Which was exactly the Number we had seen ; their Intention was to have stay'd 24 Hours only at *Jamaica*, but the contrary Winds had detained them eight Days ; that their ships were in good Health, but very ill mann'd, the greatest of them not having above 350 Men, and those of between 50 and 60 Guns, 150 Men : This last Circumstance diminish'd the admiration I was in, that none of them who could have attack'd me, had not begun the Fight by engaging of me, until such time as the rest could get up to them ; it may be, they were ignorant of the ill state we were reduc'd to by sickness, or possibly they did not give Credit to what they might have known by the *Amsterdam* Flyboat ; for the Countenance that we shewed them,

Expedition to Carthageria. 81

them, was no ways answerable to what she could have told them.

Having detach'd away the *Mutine-Frigate* for *St. Doming*, with the Forces, Inhabitants, and Negroes, that were on Board that part of the Squadron then with me, we steer'd on our Course; nothing material happen'd to us, excepting an Error in our Reckoning: For we were got to the Eastward of *Newfoundland*, when we thought we had been to the Westward; which oblig'd us to go into *Conception-Bay* for Water, that we design'd to have taken at *Placentia*: We came to an Anchor on the Fourth of the Month of *August*, having only six Days Water on Board. The Captain of a small Vessel coming from *Barbadoes*, which we took on the second Instant, did us very good Service in our Anchorage, which we did not know; but this Vessel which the *Vermandois* mann'd, happen'd to lose the Squadron in a Mist; as did also another small Vessel, that we found abandon'd at Sea, upon which we sent likewise some Men, and since we never heard more of them. The great Want of some fresh Provisions, oblig'd me to send the Captain of the Prize, taken at *Bahama*, to propose to some Fisher-men, retir'd to the bottom of the Bay, called *La Carbonniere* to supply me with what Cattle they could, and to lend me their Boats to take in Water; upon which I promis'd to do them no harm. They answer'd me by the same Messenger, That they had scarce any fresh Provisions; but they would give me what they had, and accommodate me with their Boats; provided, I gave them Hostages. The assistance was not considerable enough to accept it upon this Condition; so I resolv'd to burn a dozen, or fourteen, pitiful Houses that were there, after I had taken in my Water.

In the mean time I was informed by a Prisoner, that there were eight *English* Men of War at *St. John's*, eight Leagues from us: sent thither for the Re-establishment of that Colony, ruined by the Governor of *Placentia*; that these ships, whereof two carried 70 Guns each, and the rest from 50 to 60, had brought 13 Foot-Companies, commanded by *Gibson*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Portsmouth*, who were to stay there; that *Norris* commanded the Fleet; and that in a Council of War, held at our Arrival, it was resolved to stand out to fight us. This News made us double our Diligence to get in the Water we wanted, and to prepare ourselves not only to fight the *English*, but to seek them out. To this purpose we got under sail; on the 7th of *August* we stood to *La Carbonniere*, to burn the little Houses; but the Weather being so bad, that we could not get to them without danger, besides the inconsiderableness of the place, rendering this Action not sufficiently important, to consume away time upon it, I took the Party to go before *St. John's*, to attack the Enemies, if they had been out; but apparently, some reflection of the Force and Largeness of our Ships, had prevented them from coming out, and the Port was so streight, as to render any Attempt upon them impracticable; I was contented to shew myself, and offer them Battle, which seeing they did not answer, we steer'd for the Coast of *France*, upon the Eighth of the same Month of *August*; and on the twenty-fourth of the said Month, in the fourth Degree of Latitude, and --- Longitude, we perceived six Ships cruising exactly in the Course we steer'd. Notwithstanding the Weakness to which we were reduc'd, our Ships not having then by much, one half of our Complement of Men, the Number of
the

the Enemies, supposing they were so, did no ways occasion us to fear meeting them ; besides, this place not being their usual cruizing station, and on the contrary, very common for the *French* Ships ; there was a great deal of Appearance that they were such, and many Conveniencies would attend this joyning ; so I continued on my Way : But when I came up with them, three of them appeared to be Deck-Ships, the Fourth equall to ours of 64 Guns, a Frigate of 40 Guns, and another small Vessel, that did not bring herself into the Line : whilst we were considering of what Country they were, and had brought ourselves into Order of Battle, with the Wind upon the Beam, being the same Method which they had taken in expecting us, they put forth *English* Colours, contrary to the Custom of that Nation, they did not fire first, altho' we were in less than Cannon-shot. We put forth our Colours, at the same time they shewed theirs ; and to do them Justice, it was impossible to make a bolder Working than what they shew'd ; little did they guess the Badness of our Condition, nor that the *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermendois*, and *St. Michael*, were reduced to the Weakness of 40 Gun Frigates, not knowing these Circumstances, it must be allowed that they shewed a great deal of Resolution

We were so far advanced, that the Honour of his Majesty's Arms would not permit us to turn back, but rather to make ourselves a Passage ; and moreover, that Attempt which would infallibly have discovered our Weakness, would as certainly have encouraged the Enemy, upon whom we came within the reach of a Fusil *Boucaniere*, where we then perceived their Beds and Hammocks to be pass'd from the Forecastle to the Quarter-deck, to cover them from our small Shot ; this hindered us

from discerning the space between the Forecastle and Quarter-deck, and occasioned us to believe them three-deck Ships ; It was easy to mistake them, there being of those great Frigates of 72 Guns, which have that length, width and depth, so they wanted only some Beams and Planks to unite them ; the fourth was something less, and about the Strength of the *Furieux* ; the fifth a Frigate of 40 Guns ; the Commander was in the midst of his Squadron, and myself also in the Center of his Majesty's Ships, both sides being exactly in a Line, I was only to spring my Loofe to come a-broadside of him, and upon my signal the Fire began, which continued from half an hour after Three, until Seven ; and with much more Briskness on our side, than I could have expected from our Weakness ; the Enemy, altho' better provided, in my Opinion, shewed not altogether so much, however they kept as close to the Wind as it was possible for them.

At the same time the Fight began, they set their sails as we did, that is, so as to continue on the Course upon which we found them, which was North North West, a very contrary Course to what I was to steer, and from which I could not depart ; so I went about in our Line of Battle, to leave the Cape to the East.

In the Execution of this, the Fire was pretty violent on both sides ; but the Enemies, instead of going about, continued their Broadsides, which pass'd in a Moment, and we got far enough not to apprehend any farther Damage. In a very little while afterwards, the Enemies went about likewise all at once ; yet I was fully persuaded they would not endeavour to begin the Fight again, by reason they continued their lower Sails furl'd as well as we,
who

Expedition to Carthageria. 85

who wrought with much Trouble through the Want of Hands to repair the Damage we suffered in our Sails and Rigging: For as to the Men, there were not aboard the *Scepter* above eleven killed and wounded, and in the other Ships yet less in proportion; but the *Vermadois* having lost her Foretop mast, I was extremely troubled, because I did not think her able to get up another; yet she did not only attempt it in the Night, but perfectly accomplished it early the next Day.

We continued our Course all Night, with an easy Sail, and our usual Lights. The next Day we were in a Condition to have begun again, if the Enemy had followed us; which we doubted of in the Night, as not discerning any of their Lights; but it is probable, that they had not less work to repair than we had, so I presume they spent the Night at work, and the next Day we were almost out of sight.

We had done our Business, which was to pass without shame: We had no Advantage to expect from a second Engagement; but on the contrary, many Inconveniences, and one almost inevitable; which was, that the Squadron would perish at Sea for want of Provisions, if any endamaged Ship should considerably detain us. Therefore we kept on our way, and the Enemies followed us until the twenty sixth at Noon, at which time they went about to the other Board.

I cannot refuse making the Officers and Seamen the Acknowledgments I owe them; for
they

they did, in this occaſion, by much go beyond their Strength; and with the Good-will they expreſs, if our Force had been ſomething leſs unequal, the Enemies would have had more trouble to have diſengaged themſelves. We came at laſt into *Breſt*, upon the 29th of *Auguſt*, 1697.

F I N I S.



B O O K S *just publish'd, printed for
and Sold by Olive Payne.*

Lately published, in one large Volume, a new and beautiful Edition of the two following Books, written by the Judicious and Learned Mr. J. RAY, Fellow of the Royal Society, Price neatly bound in Calf, 5s.

A Compleat Collection of the best English, Scotch, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c. Proverbs, with proper Explanations, &c. *many of them useful to all Orders of Mankind, from the King to the Cobler.*

2. Collection of North Country and other Words, not generally used in England, also an Account of Mines, Minerals, produced in England; of making Tin, Salt, &c.

Also beautifully printed in three Volumes in Twelves, (containing near a thousand Pages) Price bound in Calf 7s. the most compleat and best of its Kind extant,

II. The Quintessence of English Poetry, or a Collection of all the beautiful Passages in our Poems and Plays, from the celebrated Spencer in Queen Elizabeth's Reign to 1688, Instructive, Moral, and Humorous, and adapted to all Degrees of Mankind, alphabetically digested under proper Heads in Chronological Order of Time, Collected from many hundred Volumes, by several eminent Hands. To which is prefix'd, an Alphabetical Catalogue of Authors, Poems and Plays quoted in the Collection; also an Historical and Critical Review of this, and all the Essays of the Kind hitherto published.

III. A New and beautiful Edition of Mr. Ray's; Willughby, and others Travels, in 2 Vols. with Cuts, Price bound 10 s.

IV. Lediard's Naval History, from the Conquest to 1734, in 2 Vols. Folio. Price bound 1 l. 10 s.

V: The History of *Adam and Eve*, with five large and beautiful Copper-Plates, representing them from their State of Innocency to their Expulsion out of Paradise. Price 1 s. 6 d.

This Day is Re-published, Price 1s. in Octavo. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, (Containing near 20 Half Sheets, with his Head curiously Engraved, about an hundred Copies remaining of,

VI. An Oration made on the Death of that *Illustrious and Invincible General, EUGENE FRANCIS, Prince of Savoy*, written by Command of the Emperor of Germany, deliver'd in Italian by the Learned *Count Passionci*, Archbishop of *Ephesus*, Minister Plenipotentiary at the Treaties of *Utrecht and Baden*, now Nuncio at Vienna.

VII. The Case of *Abraham's* being commanded by God Almighty to offer up his Son *Isaac* in Sacrifice, impartially Examined and Defended, against the Deists and other modern Infidels. By the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Middleton*, the Second Edition, Octavo, Price 6 d.

VIII. The History of the Council of Constance, by James Lentant, with several curious Heads of eminent Men, in 2 Vol. 4to. translated by the ingenious Mr. Whatley. Price neatly bound, gilt, &c. 12 s.



